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TWO DANCERS CRYING OUT TO THE PYTHON.
(See Section D, Gunabibi Ceremony, page 298.)

[FRONTISPIECE -
FACING p. iii]

123 842 114 arose in which I could inquire directly of certain old men just what the semen did when it entered the uterus of a woman. They all looked at me with much contempt for my ignorance and informed me that "that was what made babies." I had not been able to obtain this information earlier because the ordinary savage is far more interested in the child's spiritual conception, which determines its place in the social life of the people, than he is in the physiological mechanism of conception. He would far rather talk about ritual and myth than about ordinary mundane affairs. The relationship between the primitive men of northeastern Arnhem Land and me as a field worker would be the same as that between the colonial Puritans of Massachusetts and the traditional visitor from Mars. Had the latter asked Cotton Mather or any other member of the community "where babies came from," he would have discovered that they came from heaven, that God sent them, and that it was the special duty of the church to look out for them. He might have been told that the stork brought them, and discovered totemic "spiritual conception." He would have been told this for approximately the same reason that the ordinary anthropological field investigator is informed by the natives that the totemic spirit is what causes impregnation.

I know it is dangerous to assume that, because the tribes I studied knew about physiological conception, the people Spencer and Gillen investigated had similar knowledge. I do feel, though, the necessity of throwing doubt upon the validity of the conclusions reached by Spencer and Gillen and others who claim there is no knowledge of physiological conception among certain savage tribes. I think that possibly this knowledge does exist but is not considered important, the spiritual conception of the child looming so large in native thinking that the field worker obtains nothing but facts concerning the latter.[11]

775 [763 535] When a man dies he goes straight to his narra well. He is taken there by his marikmo (paternal grandfather). He never comes back but always remains a spirit. Usually a Murngin who is about to die, particularly if severely wounded in a spear fight, dances his death dance, which is symbolical of the ceremonial actions of his totem. This is to send his spirit back to his ranga well.

"We can drink that narra water; we can see the bottom of the well.

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[11] This point perhaps has been labored by me, but a large number of sociological and anthropological theories have been built out of the idea that there are many savage peoples who are ignorant of the facts of procreation. It is time some check be placed upon such speculation until further proof is accumulated by field workers.

726 [789] ing distance, and once more spears are thrown at them, but this time there is an effort made actually to strike them, since now they represent the enemies, whereas in the morning they represented the challenging clan. The spears are then sent by messenger to the enemy. They are a ceremonial invitation for battle. The enemy goes through the same ceremony if it decides to accept. The two parties then meet halfway between their respective territories.

[411] Short spears are used in the gaingar because they can be thrown from any position and are difficult to parry or avoid. The two lines of warriors stand about fifty feet apart. Leadership is almost completely absent after the fight starts. Trickery is used if possible. In the gaingar that was held in the Goyder River district, the sea people who challenged the men from the interior hid part of their forces on each side of the plain in a mangrove jungle. They placed a small party down at the forward end of the plain for the advancing people to see. As the enemy advanced this small group retreated to the jungle growth at the far end. They thus enticed their antagonists into the avenue of hidden warriors. The sea people then surrounded those from the interior and killed a large number.

Makarata

628 The makarata is a ceremonial peacemaking fight. It is a kind of general duel and partial ordeal which allows the aggrieved parties to vent their feelings by throwing spears at their enemies or by seeing the latter's blood run in expiation.

Frequently the makarata does not follow the ideal pattern; instead of providing a peacemaking mechanism, it produces only another battle in the interminable blood feud of the clans.

When sufficient time has elapsed after an injury or death of a member for the clan's emotions to calm, the men send a message to their enemies saying they are ready for a makarata. The other side usually agrees to enter into this peacemaking ceremony, although there is always suspicion of treachery. The injured group always sends the invitation, and the other must wait for them to decide when they wish to have it. Frequently makarata are held after some of the totemic ceremonies have taken place, since it is at this time that most of the clans
628 will be present. When the warriors of the injured clan or clans arrive
535 on the dueling ground they are covered with white clay. They dance in, singing a song which is descriptive of the water of their totemic well. The other side has also painted itself. The two sides stand a little

628 535 more than spear-throwing distance apart, and each is so situated that it has a mangrove jungle back of it for protection in case the makarata becomes a real fight and it is necessary to take cover. The clan which considers itself injured performs the dance connected with its chief totem. It is of the garma or non-sacred variety. The Warumeri clan, for instance, would dance the garawark (mythological fish) totemic dance; the Djirin clan would perform its shark dance. The challenging group dances over to its antagonists, stops, and without further ceremony walks back to its own side. After the men have reformed their ranks, their opponents dance toward them, using the latter's totemic dance for this military ritual. They return to their own side and reform their line to make ready for the actual duel.

628 The men who are supposed to have "pushed" the killers then start running in a zigzag in the middle of the field, facing their opponents. They are accompanied by two close relatives who are also near kin of the other side. The function of the latter runners is to deter the aggrieved clan from throwing spears with too deadly an intent for fear of hitting their kin, and to help knock down spears which might hit the "pushers." The "pushers" are made a target for spears whose stone heads have been removed. Every member of the clan or clans which feels itself injured throws at least once at the runners. When an individual's turn to throw arrives he advances from the group and moves toward the runners. If he feels very strongly he continues throwing spears until he has chased the runners into the jungle. This action is repeated by the more indignant members of the offended clan three or four times. The injured clan curses the members of the other group; the offending group cannot reply, for this is supposed to add additional insult; they must run and say nothing. Finally, when their emotions have subsided to a considerable extent, one of the older men of the offended group says that they have had enough and the spear throwing stops.

628 887 After the "pushers," the actual killers run. The spear head is not removed from the shaft; the throwers continue hurling their spears, at first as a group and finally as individuals, until they have exhausted their emotions. While all this is taking place, the old men of both sides walk back and forth from one group to the other, telling the throwers to be careful and not kill or hurt anyone. The offending clan's old men ask the younger men to be quiet and not to become angry, and when they hear insults thrown at them not to reply or throw spears since

628 887 they are in the wrong. When the old men of the injured clan feel that they have sated their anger as a group they call out to the young men to stop, and each man then throws singly at the killers. He may throw as long as he pleases.

628 535 When this part of the ceremony has been completed, the whole offending group dances up to the other, and one of the latter jabs a spear through the thighs of the killers. If this happens it means that no further retaliatory action will be taken. The killers can feel free to go into the country of their enemies without fear of injury. If only a slight wound is made the offenders know they are not forgiven and the truce is only temporary. Sometimes no wound is made at all. This acts as a direct statement of the offended clan's intention to wreak vengeance on the other side.

After the wound has been made the two sides dance together as one group to prove their feeling of solidarity and to express ritually that they are not openly warring groups, but one people. They also perform the usual water dance.

628 The above is the idealized form of the makarata. If all goes well, this procedure is followed through until the end, and the makarata's purpose is fulfilled. The following things can happen to turn the makarata into a real fight: (1) the old men may not have enough power to keep their young men in control; (2) the offending side may start swearing or throwing spears, which immediately turns the whole performance into a fight; (3) one of the runners may be badly wounded, which is likely to stimulate his clan members to attack the other side; (4) treachery may be resorted to; (5) the accidental wounding of an outsider may sometimes result; and (6) a member of either side may deliberately throw a spear into the other group because he is anxious to start a general fight.

Women's Fights

518 Brawls in which only women are engaged are fairly frequent. The fights usually take place between two women, almost always because a young woman has seduced another's husband. Occasionally more than two women are involved, sisters taking sides with their kin; or several wives of one man may attack his sweetheart, in which case the latter usually calls upon her own relatives for help. The women's ironwood digging sticks are the usual weapons, although if a man's club is within reach the women often use it. They strike each other on the head. The fights are of such intensity that bloodshed always results.

"Well," said he, "it can't be helped. I can do nothing, for my son started 628
it first." He collected his wives and belongings and said, "We will go now. I think this wound will kill me before I get home."

After they had walked for several days he felt too ill to continue his journey.

"When I die," he said, "you wives put me in my grave and go straight to Warlumbopo [his younger brother] and tell him what has happened to his elder brother."

Shortly after he had spoken, Warlumbopo walked into the dying man's 628
camp. He cried and cried. Then the old man raised himself to a sitting 763
position. He danced the dance of the black duck totem flying home, for 535
he remembered his totemic water hole and he wanted his soul to go straight to it when it left his body, and then he fell back dead.[6]

Warlumbopo said, "I won't show my sorrow now. I will go buy you 628
back first, my brother." He did not bury his brother, and he told the wives of the deceased not to bury him. He picked up his spears and basket and went away. He went down to the Blue Mud Bay country where the Marderpa people had gone after his brother had left them. He went over to Woodah Island. It was daytime.

The Marderpa people saw him. They conferred together. "We must kill him too," they said. They got ready. Groote Eyelandt and Barlamomo people were also there. Warlumbopo walked straight into the camp as though nothing had happened. All the men of the camp hooked up their spears. "Why have you people got your spears hooked up? What is the matter?" He pretended he knew nothing.

"Haven't you heard anything?" someone said.

"No," he replied. "I have come down here to hunt for emu."

The old Marderpa man who had killed his brother sang the water of the Ritarngo well and the water of the Marderpa clan's well, then he said the dead man's name. "We killed him and his son," he said.

"Oh," said Warlumbopo, "and a good thing it was, too. He was a wakinu [without relatives and asocial]. I have a spear mark from him too." He showed a scar upon his leg (from an engagement with an enemy, not from his brother).

Warlumbopo painted himself for a makarata peacemaking ceremony, and so did the old men of the Marderpa group. They went out to the dueling ground. Two old men and two boys ran for Warlumbopo to throw his spears at them. He took the stone heads out of his spears and threw two shafts at them.

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[6] All clansmen perform this death ceremony. A Wangurri would dance and call out his Garawark, the son of Barrimundi; and a Liaalaomir man would dance the great python and imitate the thunder of his totem.

the young boys to one side. He held his spear in his hand and shoved it 628 into the other man's abdomen.

The wounded man groaned and cried, "What is wrong?"

"Danginbir! You remember him, don't you? He was the one whose head and body you threw in the water."

General confusion prevailed in the camp. Everyone cried, "Why did you do that?"

"This one [the man he had just killed], a long time ago, killed that little boy's [Kamata's] brother. He [Kamata] had no older brother to look out for him and he was killed. This bone I have in my hand brought him back. It was just as if that little brother [Kamata] had opened my mind when he died, for I forgot that big brother. I thought about him now."

After the excitement had died, everyone said, "That is too long ago for a young man like Natjimbui to think about it. It is much too long. He did not think for that far back."

Several of the older men turned to the two old Darlwongo and said, "We think that you told that young man something." They emphatically denied it, as old men always do when they have "pushed" young men into a killing. While everyone was talking and shouting and the relatives of the man who had been speared were wailing, the Marderpa men of the camp tried to make a ring of spearmen around Natjimbui. Natjimbui edged out of the group so that no one was at his back. "You people stand back there," he said. "If you come close I will kill another one of you." They stood back. "You people sleep over there," continued Natjimbui, "I will sleep over here away from you. Tomorrow morning I will come out for you." (This meant that he would run before them in a makarata.)

The two old men went with him so that he could sleep. In the morning he painted himself, as did the Marderpa; he ran before the Marderpa, with the two old men accompanying him. They chased him inside a mangrove jungle. This was done a number of times. Finally they grew tired and the old men of the Marderpa clan said that they had had enough.

Natjimbui danced the net dance, which symbolized his catching the [535] soul of the man who had been killed. After that he put his leg out to have it stabbed, but the Marderpa refused.

They buried the body, left the Darlwongo country, and after one night's camp arrived in the Gwiyula territory. Natjimbui accompanied them. When they had buried the Marderpa man a Kalpu man had cut the armlets off the Marderpa. When Natjimbui arrived here he said that he was going to leave them and go to the Crocodile Islands. The father of Gurnboko (the young man wounded by Maiangula) said, "No. Let us wait and sleep here tonight. We will all go tomorrow."

That afternoon omens of ill luck appeared to Natjimbui. His spear 628 fell down and the stone head broke. Probably a mokoi (evil ghost) tried 781

852 (3) Bamboo spear with stone head (Gun-na-mar-mar)
533 (4) Women and boys (Mielk koon-di Djer-ku-li)
(5) Fat of the kangaroo mixed with red ocher to paint the boy's face (Ri-djil-gur-o)
(6) The taboo name for the warngaitja (Ngur-mir-go-nor-mi-a)

During the singing and dancing the warngaitja is carried in the center of the group of men.

● [535] The women meet them and, while the men stand in a compact circle, they dance around them waving branches. The pole is taken to various parts of the camp and the men form circles around it and sing the above cycle of songs while the women dance around them. Finally a permanent place in the center of the main camp is selected, and after singing once more over the warngaitja, it is placed upright on the ground and left there until the end of the Djungguan ceremony.

852 361 When a Djungguan is being celebrated a Murngin camp is divided into several geographical divisions. These territorial divisions are based on the age-grade groupings which are discussed in Chapter IV. The geographical divisions are (1) the general camp, (2) the men's ground, (3) the old men's camp and totem house, (4) the "totem well," or temporary dwelling place of the totemic emblem for one portion of the ceremony, and (5) the snake dance ground.

The territorial division clearly objectifies the grading in the men's association and the differentiation from women: the old men's camp, the holy of holies for the few; the dance ground for the circumcised, which includes the greater part of the young men; and the main camp for the uncircumcised and the women.

778 The men's ground is called Djungguan Wonga (camp). It is also called Ma-rai-in Wonga. Maraiin is a general word meaning, as nearly as it can be translated, powerful, sacred, taboo, or spiritual. It is used to describe anything that is taboo to the women and uninitiated boys. It is not necessarily taboo to everyone in the tribe. Totemic emblems, ceremonial grounds which certain age grades are forbidden, "sacred" names known only to the older men, and certain designs are among the things that are considered maraiin by the Murngin.

A quality possessed by a thing that is maraiin is dal. The literal translation of dal is "hard" and "strong," but dal means strength only in the magical sense of ritually "powerful." The maraiin wonga has a considerable amount of dal, but the old men's camp possesses a concentrated portion of this magical strength. The old men's part of the when the sun sinks and dusk first appears the boys' maris (mothers' mothers), yeppas (sisters), and arndis (mothers) start wailing for him because they are going "to lose him forever." (Once the initiate is taken from the women, even before he makes his journey, he is not allowed to return to them but is kept entirely in the charge of some of the men.) 852

The women then dance with bent knees around the central pole, with their slow, shuffling rhythm, waving bunches of leaves in each hand. The men meanwhile pick the initiates up and gather in a group outside the general camp behind a clump of bushes. [535]

When the boys are first taken from the women, and each evening during the opening part of the ceremony, they are carried on the men's shoulders in the same position that babies are carried by their mothers and fathers.

The men beat their spears with their spear-throwers and sing: 852

"Djer-ma-kun-di,[12] mielk-kun-di." 533
(Uncircumcised boys, women)

The men rush out and surround the pole in a solid mass. The women sing a song which, freely translated, means, "We give you men this boy child while we dance." The men then sing kangaroo fat.—This performance is repeated a number of times.

After the above ceremony has taken place on the women's ground the boys are carried upon the shoulders of the men, who go, singing, to the men's ground. The women meanwhile continue to dance around the warngaitja.

2. A fire is built a short distance from the triangular dance ground (see Figure 3, page 265). The little boys are put down within the group of men who sit in a circle around the fire.

A new cycle of songs is sung:

(1) Turkey (Wal-pa-run-go di-ma-run-a, Dua)
(2) Fresh-water turtle (Gai-yil-pur-o djel-gai-a-na, Yiritja)
(3) Young boy before circumcision (Mil-er-um-bur-u)
(4) Fish spear (Bar-nai-djer-yer, Yiritja)
(5) A tree with a red flower that emus eat (Warn-bar-ko ngu-nu-lai)
(6) Bamboo spear (Djir-ne-djir-ne gur-o-o)

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[12] Cf. djemer-ku-li, Age Grading, page 125. "Djer-ma-kun-di" is from the ritual language.

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533 At this period in the song cycle the following refrain is sung by all the men:

"Ah—ah—ah—!! ah—ah!
Sis ye!! Sis ye!!
Ay—Ay—Ay—!!
Kak ye!!"

(7) Wallaby (Nar-ku mar-rain-djur-a kam-dal main-djur-a)
[525] Two men stand up and dance in imitation of kangaroos. They may be either Yiritja or Dua moiety, but the Wallaby dance is for the Burilung subclass.

(8) The rock kangaroo (par-de-par-de-min-ne burul-purul-min-e, Burilung subclass)

The following refrain is now sung:

"Bir—pir—!! Pir—pir—!!
Ah—oo!! Poo!!
Bir—pir—!! Pir—Pir—!!
Ah—oo!! Poo!!
Kak-ye—kak ye!!"

(9) Emu (Ur-tarn-gal-li-na), Yiritja
Emu head feathers (kurt-kurt-gal-li-na), Bur-lain subclass, Yiritja moiety

(10) A fresh-water fish (Gal-ngi mar-kunr-dur-na), Narit subclass, Yiritja moiety

(11) Ibis (Durn-di-tja gar-ran-gun-mi), Kaidjawk subclass, Yiritja moiety

(12) A small hawk (Kar-kar-ain-bir-na), Bang-ar-di subclass, Yiritja moiety

The refrain beginning "Bir—pir" is repeated.

(13) Carpet snake totem (Yur-lung-gur), Bal-lung, Ka-mer-dung and Wa-mut subclasses, Dua moiety

(The totemic emblem is brought in at this time. The chorus sings, "Djil-djil-la djil-djil-la [hiss of the snake].)

(14) Blood from the arm to paint the body in the Djungguan ceremony (Man-in-jul-or-un-gal), Yiritja or Dua moiety, since either can give his blood for the ceremony.

(15) A fresh-water, non-poisonous snake (Bog-min-bog-min) 852
(16) Fresh-water crayfish (Run-nar-ra-nar-ra-na), Yiritja moiety 533

The following dances take place:

(1) A small hawk (Kar-kar-kain-bur-na mal-le-wir-de-wir-de) 852
(2) Dollar bird (?) (Ko-ko-mir-ding), Dua moiety 535

Big gray kangaroo, wallaby, and rock kangaroo are also danced. This ends the ceremony for the evening, and the refrain "Wah! wah! wah!" (sound of running water) is sung.

Whenever wallaby is sung in the above cycle of songs two men stand up and dance at one side. Sometimes they are joined by several others. The men hold their hands in front of their chests with the fingers pointed downward to imitate the posture of the front legs and paws of the wallaby. They dance jumping sideways as one often sees the wallaby move when frightened. At intervals they fall flat on the ground, remain there a moment, then arise and start the dance over again.

While the chorus of men sing and the men at the side dance, one man stands by the side of the ring and calls out in a high shrill voice, "Kawk! Kawk!" This is supposed to be the call of the wedge-tailed eagle.

Native Interpretation.—"The warngaitja was put up the first time by the two Wawilak women. They cut off the stringy bark tree and put it up and tied it with bush string. Now men do this." "Those women said, 'We two sisters, we'll do this and make up this warngaitja dance and everybody will do this after us, but the ranga and maraiin will belong inside of the men's ground.'" (For further interpretation of the Warngaitja ceremony, see Section E, where the ceremony is performed for the last time.) 852 773

C. Yurlunggur Comes Out

1. The older men sing Yurlunggur and his totem well and several bring out the trumpet. It is blown over the uncircumcised initiates. The older boys (those about to pass into a higher age group) hide their heads under the women's mats. 852

1. Just before the Yurlunggur song is sung (13 of the cycle in Section B), the leader of the ceremony calls out the totems of the Liaalaomir clan and of other clans which possess the same totems as this

children. He swallowed them." (These statements are also applicable 773
to the sacred songs sung while the subsection names are called out— 852
see Section B.) During a Djungguan one of the older men said, pointing to the trumpet, "That is the real Great Father. He is also the real father for these boys who are going to be cut."

D. The Dances on the Triangular Dance Ground 852

1. The men dance a variety of animal dances, while the initiates stand on the edge of the dance ground and are instructed by the old men. 535

1. All the men then collect and go over to the dance ground. A fire is lighted in the center. The Yiritja men dance while the Dua men look on; then the Dua dance while the Yiritja watch. The same leader conducts the songs for the men of both moieties. Sometimes two moieties dance together instead of separately, but this is considered less proper.

After the alternation of the dances by the moieties, all the dancers join hands and, calling out in turn wedge-tailed eagle and kangaroo, they stamp out the fire. A new fire is started in the same place and all of the men go out at the anal end of the snake dance ground to the side. They divide into two groups, one representing the Yiritja gray kangaroo and the other the Dua wallaby. They squat on their haunches and hop into the dance ground at the anal end, and when they reach the fire they dance around it as one group. They fall down and lie in a heap around it. This ends the ceremony on the dance ground for the night. They return to the dance ground in the main camp calling out like hawks[18] after they have given the sound that symbolizes running water. Meanwhile in the old men's camp can be heard the low bellowing of the python trumpet "to let everyone know that the Great Father is in camp." It is late and the women have gone to bed; their fires are still burning when the men disband after the day's ceremony.

All the men participate in the above dances, except the boys to be

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[18] The hawk is a Yiritja bird supposed always to be on the lookout for small snakes 825
believed to be their chief antagonists.—Tremendous grass fires are made all over the country when the dry season has parched grass and brush to the point where they are 224
easily burned, to clear the land so that it is easy to hunt over. They are made particularly by the women to aid them in catching bandicoot and other small game. At this time hawks gather about, intent upon catching snakes, grasshoppers and other small game which run before the fires.

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circumcised and a few of the older men, who stand outside at the head of the dance ground. The old men tell the initiates the meaning of the dances. The little boys stand, each with the men's basket under his arm, with the string handle over the left shoulder, in the manner of grown men.

The entire Djungguan song cycle is repeated during all the time the boys are away to invite others to their circumcision and from two to four weeks after their return. The dances vary slightly, and occasionally a few new elements are introduced into the main camp ceremony.
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Sometimes an old woman, usually the initiate's mother's mother (mari), goes through the camp snatching the men's spears from them and threatening the younger women with the weapons. She is taking a threefold rôle in this ritual act: (1) expressing the antagonism of the women's division of the sex and age structure toward the men's division; (2) disciplining the younger women and thereby increasing the solidarity of the women's division; and (3) acting the part of a very old woman, which gives her special privileges, since old women are "more like a man" (see page 102 on the relationship of older mothers-in-law to their sons-in-law).

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On certain nights (there is no regular order), several fires are built outside the python dance ground in a line running from the python's anus, and several inside the triangle. After having left the warngaitja circle and starting their ceremony on the python ground, the men, instead of dancing wallaby and kangaroo, dance hawk and rock kangaroo. The fires are built, say the natives, to chase the rock kangaroos out of their hiding places, and when the hawks see the fires they appear as they do when the natives light bush fires to hunt kangaroos.

The hawks cry, "Kawk! Kawk! Kawk!" They carry under each armpit green bushes or paper bark which they shake in imitation of hawks flying, and they carry their spear-throwers to represent the birds' tails while they dance between the fires. They are plastered with
[302]
white clay. A white band of clay covers the face from the eyebrows to the bridge of the nose and runs from ear to ear. Another band of clay extends laterally from jaw to jaw beneath the mouth and across the chin. The upper arms, trunk, and upper legs are daubed with parallel lines of birds' down made fast with human blood.

The rock kangaroos dance first, followed by the hawks. Both stamp

out the fire on the dance ground with their feet. The hawks call out 852
their totemic names and the rock kangaroos shout their taboo names. 535
The kangaroos are Dua and the hawks Yiritja. Usually the men who dance the Dua animal belong to the Dua, and the men who dance the Yiritja bird, to the Yiritja moiety.

Early in the morning, before the heat of the day, ceremonies are also held. The uncircumcised initiates are again placed before the head of the dance ground with one or more old men to explain the meaning of the various dances and songs. The first set of dancers are Dua honeybees. They come in one at a time in a zigzag line from the bush and enter the dance ground at the tail of the snake. They kneel before the boys and lie down with the arms stretched above the head and the legs at full length. The last two dancers dance around the others. They all lie down on their backs in one or more lines. Each man places his head between the legs of the man above him and stretches his arms above him at an angle so that they cross the legs and form a diamond pattern, which is supposed to symbolize the honeybee and is one of the few dominant designs found in the totemic paintings of the Murngin.

They squirm forward and backward to represent bees in a hive, while they cried out, "Wah! Wah!! Wah!!!" They leave the head of the dance ground and return to the bush. The faces of the little boys remain inexpressive, like masks, throughout the dance.

Yiritja kangaroos are then danced. The Dua wallabys are in a line directly back of the tail of the snake, and to the rear of them are the Yiritja kangaroos. The two lines of dancers pretend to fight with
their forepaws as these marsupials box. The leader beats his singing [534]
sticks together and leads the ceremony while standing back of the dancers. He sings wallaby and kangaroo.

Farther back in the bushes a man, painted with a "string harness" worn by present-day women but representing here that of the two old Creator Sisters, stands with a spear articulated to his spear-thrower. He sneaks up toward the animals as the two lines form again after their sham fight. The two lines merge. The "hunter" throws his spear and "kills" the leader. He limps off and, followed by the wallabys and kangaroos, falls down at the head of the snake.

Native Interpretation.—The triangular dance ground in the Djung- 773
guan has the same interpretation as both the excavated and the surface 852
dance grounds of the Ulmark ceremony. A dance ground is a snake's

Warumeri well, they come back to the ranga and go inside of it and 852
into the well." 796

The souls of women likewise return: "When a woman dies she 775
becomes a Bir-im-bir [spirit] Wongar and goes to the same well as a man. She can come back to her ranga and is like those two old Wawilak sisters."

When the men come out and take the boy away from the women, 852
they are the snake or the flood and the women are the Wongar
women who made the first camp. On the last evening when the men 796
come out they stop at the edge of the camp and they sing rain. When 535 ●
the boys are left under the piles of bushes they are the children of the 773
Wawilak women. "Those boys left there alone are all the same as those babies that were born to the Wongar women. They left their babies there the same way to dance: the women dancing around the Warngaitja mean that." When the men stand with their spears around the pole they sing rain, which means that the flood has come, and when they pull the warngaitja out of the ground and rush away and the others take the bushes off the boys and run away with them to the men's ground, the chorus sings flood. "That means that the flood came and took these two yam sticks and carried them away."—"A flood takes them away after the rain, that is why we sing Wa—wa—wa. That means that the flood water is running."

"When the boys lie there and the men pull the bushes off them that means that snake spitting them up. They are spirits now." (This refers to the first time the python swallows the two women.)

F. The Last Dances in the Men's Ground 852

1. The dancers are painted with human blood. 382
2. The boys who are to be circumcised are painted.
3. The initiates are shown the dances of the animals and the triangular ground and are instructed.
4. The older boys who have run away are caught and Yurlunggur comes out of the well and is shown to them.

1. The climax of the ceremony occurs next day. All the men paint with the blood that has been let the day before. The bloodletting occurs one day before the circumcision rite instead of the same day, because the exposure to the air gives the blood a more adhesive quality.

The blood is now sacred and powerful. It is, say the natives, as if it 852
were a totemic emblem in itself. It has the power of Yurlunggur in 382
it because he blew over the blood-giver. It is also powerful because the 778

852 leader walks among the men, who are decorating themselves with
302 birds' down to take the part of various birds and animals in the
778 coming ceremonial dances, and sings a song over their heads. He sings
the taboo names of the creature the man is painting himself to represent. This makes the design and the man magically powerful.

852 One end of a small green stick from any tree is chewed into a
brush and dipped into the blood, and the blood is painted over the
302 body of the man to form the various designs used by the dancers. The paper bark dropped into the blood the day before is also used as a brush. Two men usually paint each other at the same time. The old men paint in the old men's camp, and the younger men go off by themselves. If the old men so desire, they may paint outside where the young men do. They do not let the neophytes see them decorate themselves for the ceremony.

2. The boys who are to be circumcised are painted on the dance
ground by older men. The totemic design of the clan is placed on
[824] each candidate's chest and abdomen, with the juice of an orchid bulb
as the adhesive; blood is never used because it is magically too power-
[431] ful for an uncircumcised boy. The man who paints the boy is always
given a present by the father and mother. The neophytes are then led by the older men to the head of the snake ground. Sweat from the armpit of an old man (almost as powerful as blood) is rubbed on the eyelids of the boys to strengthen their eyes for the coming ceremony.

852 3. The division of dances that follows on this day of the circum-
cision is on a moiety basis. Dua men dance Dua animals and plants,
535 Yiritja men dance Yiritja objects that belong to their world of culture,
616 man and nature.

Two men run in with their spears fixed to their spear-throwers and
852 point them straight at the boys as if they were going to throw them.
535 The men have their baskets in their mouths as they often do when
fighting. They return to the bush and rush in a second and third time. They are supposed to be fighting men and also catfish. The word for catfish is the same as that for one variety of fighters. The leader sings catfish while the men dance. Several old men stand beside the boys to instruct them and to prevent their running away.—Each group of dancers bows before the initiates just previous to leaving the dance ground.

After the "catfish" have retired, one man comes in dancing, carrying his spear-thrower and shaking it as if it were a bird's tail. He is a willy-wagtail. He pretends to pick flies off the branches of the trees

and acts generally in imitation of this bird. When he reaches the boys, 852
he bows at their feet. The leader walks along beside him beating his 535
singing sticks and singing the taboo names of this little bird. Two men dance a grotesque step which makes them appear deformed. They are mokoi trickster spirits.

Two "wallabys" now arrive, hopping along on their hands and feet and imitating other actions of the wallaby. Following them a large gray kangaroo (kal-tjim-bal) and a black-faced kangaroo appear. The last falls down and sleeps; he is considered a very sleepy creature by the natives.

A group of dogs come out crawling on their bellies. They howl like dingoes.

The dance of the mopoke owl and the bush rat is next. The rat crawls in on his hands and knees. The owl, squatting on his haunches, follows after, carrying leaves in each hand. He pounces upon the rat, but the leader kicks him over. This is repeated a number of times, and causes much laughter among the onlookers.

Brush turkeys next appear, and fires are lit all along the dance ground and back in the bush as when the natives try to smoke out these birds in hunting them.

The Dua honeybee dance follows. Two parallel lines of men about six feet apart start at the direction of the leader about one hundred and fifty yards back in the bush. They dance in a rapid rhythm, the members of each line crossing over and taking the place of the other group. When they reach the dance ground they all lie flat on their backs in a long line with the head of one dancer lying between the legs of the one ahead of him.

The stone kangaroos dance again, as well as the big gray kangaroo 852
and the wallabys. This finishes for the moment the initiation of the
young boys. They are led away toward the women's camp and left 561
in a convenient clump of bushes between the men's camp and the women's while the initiation of another age group into a higher grade
in the men's association takes place. The young men, who are to see [262
the totemic emblem for the first time, run away from the dance
ground because they are to be put on a vegetable diet (see Section 184]
H, 3) and suffer the taboo of silence for a period of time. The older men run after them and bring them back.

4. Meanwhile, at the tail of the snake dance ground, Yurlunggur is 852
in the "python well" of the Liaalaomir people. He can be heard roaring in a very slow rhythm. The young men stand with their heads

852 [302] down. The bushes are pulled back from the "Mirrirmina well." All the men painted like iguanas lie in it on their backs with a symbol of the iguana painted on their abdomens. Yurlunggur, the trumpet, lies among them with one man blowing it. The trumpet is played over an iguana while he crawls on his belly out of the well and on to the dance ground. The trumpet then goes back for another and continues until all the iguanas are out of the well and in a line at the apex of the triangular dance ground. A trumpeter then repeats the last activity and brings the iguanas one by one before the line of initiates. The trumpeters then place the trumpet at the feet of the initiates and before the iguanas who are now kneeling in a line.

Each initiate is asked to try to blow the trumpet. Then the old men command all of them to "respect their fathers and mothers," "never to tell lies," "not to run after women who do not belong to them," "not to divulge any of the secrets of the men to the women, men who belong to a lower division of the association, or uninitiated boys," and all in all to live up to the tribal code.

852 535 113 *Native Interpretation.*—Kaitjimbal (large gray kangaroo) is repeated a number of times because, said the leaders, "We have to get in all the clan countries where he has totems." This is partly a rationalization: it is true he has rangas in a great number of places; but most of the other animals which are danced are also found in a large number of clan holes, yet they are not repeated so frequently. The use of the Yiritja kangaroo in the dance sequence shows that Yiritja as well as Dua things are ritualized in the Djungguan, despite the fact that the two old women were supposed to walk only in Dua clan territory. Kaitjimbal's ranga is his tail (see Ulmark ceremony, page 317). The mokois danced are said to be Yiritja trickster souls by some of the informants, Dua souls by others, and by another group they are declared to be of both moieties. The last category is probably correct, since the mokoi's moiety depends largely upon what clan country is being sung at that time.

852 113 Yurlunggur, the trumpet, is in the "totem well at the head of the dance ground." The iguana with him are his children. "They are initiated men who have given their blood for the Djungguan ceremony," or, as it has been concretely put by the natives, "Yurlunggur is in the Mirrirmina well. We hear him roaring out and the young men stand with their heads down." "Yurlunggur is the father of these iguana. He calls to them and brings them out one at a time, and

he is calling to his yolno [black human] children for them to see him." 852 773

This section is equivalent to Yurlunggur coming out at the camp circle, Section C.

G. The Circumcision

1. The men tip their spears with human blood, pick up the two uncircumcised boys and march toward the women's camp. 852
2. The women paint themselves.
3. The dance of the wild geese.
4. The women apply magic to the boys.
5. The circumcision and treatment of the foreskin.
6. The removal of the feather.
7. The food taboos are imposed.

1. On this last day of the Djungguan the men, at the ceremonial ground, paint their stone spear heads with the ceremonial blood. The leader of one of the ceremonies explained this in the following way: "We take that blood on our spears to the women's camp and tell the women we have killed a very big python and we ran away after we had killed it, but that the snake did not really die. The camp women know then it's Wongar. They think that blood on the spear is Wongar's. If a woman asks, 'Why did you kill that snake?' we say, 'So he'll go down in the ground. We want to be sure he'll go down in the ground.'"

The men then form into a regular line (both those who have seen Yurlunggur for the first time and the older men) and, beating on their spears with their spear-throwers, march toward the women's camp, crying out, "Ka—ok!! ye! ye! Ka—ok!! ye! ye!" On the way they pick up the two uncircumcised boys and place them on the shoulders of two men, again in the way small babies are carried.

2. Meanwhile the women, instructed by the old men to paint themselves and get ready for the camp part of the ceremony, cover their faces with red ocher and their bodies with daubs of white paint. The painting is poorly done and not elaborate. It is only on this last day of the ceremony that the women are allowed to paint themselves, and it is explained that they are allowed to paint at this time only because it is the day of the circumcision and the men want them to look nice when uncircumcised boys see them. For some little time before the men arrive with the boys who are to be circumcised upon 852 302 852 535

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● [535] their shoulders, the women carrying bunches of leaves in each hand have been dancing around the grass where the boys are to be cut.

3. When the men appear in camp with the boys there is a short period of considerable excitement and seeming confusion. The men continue crying out and march to the camp dance ground where the grass and leaves are and where the warngaitja was placed. By this time the grass has become dry, and if it has been disturbed more grass has been added. It has been placed there so that no blood from the circumcision operation can fall on the ground, for it is believed that the child operated on would become ill if this happened. After the circumcision the blood-stained grass is buried or burned. Before the circumcision and while preparing the boys, the crowd divides into two halves which call out like wild geese (this is also a part of the Narra totemic ceremony), while the leader cries out the common names of the totemic emblems:

> "Gun-bor! gun-bor! (no meaning)
> Main-yir-pa (goose)
> Gun-bor gun-bor
> Dur-a-mul (fresh water from the clan well)
> Gur-um-gur-um-bo (goose)
> Birn-gi (holes left in the mud where the geese
>   had been feeding in a swamp country)"

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304 4. The men form a compact group with the little boys in the center. The women stand slightly at the side. Most of the latter are crying. They say they are sorry because those little boys are going to be hurt. When the cutting is actually taking place they say, "You boys are fish, you are kangaroo, you are turtle [or any other game animal], and all of you things go into this little boy's blood, and all of the blood must go down to his penis, so that it will be like cutting a turtle head or cutting a kangaroo's head off, and it won't hurt the boys." This is cried out loud, and the old men say that it helps [785] the little boys to bear the pain. Sometimes the women carry bushes and whip themselves with them to bring all the pain from the boy to themselves. It is only the close relatives and members of the boys' own clans who cry for them or attempt to hurt themselves for the boys' sake.

5. Two men lie down on their backs. Each boy is given a shell of water and the contents are drunk so that his mouth will be wet when he is bidden to hold his basket between his teeth. It is the last drink

camp until the ceremony is completed. The old men insist that this is the only proper way to perform the ceremony. 852

Native Interpretation.—Throughout the Gunabibi ceremony, the sound of the bull roarer is the voice of the snake coming from the men's ground to the women's. "When Mandelprindi sings out, it is the voice of the snake, and when the women call back, that is the old women calling out to the snake who swallowed them in their house." Throughout the Gunabibi the answer of the camp women is always the cry of the two Wawilak women trying to stop the snake.

When the two Yiritja snake dancers reply to the bull roarer, they are the two children of the old women answering the snake. "Dua man always makes the bull roarer sing out and the two Yiritja snakes always answer." The bull roarer is Wirtit (Yurlunggur or Muit). Some of the men said the two Yiritja were "yellow-bellied water snakes."

C. The Morning and Evening Dance Sequence

1. The animals dance on the ceremonial ground. The men sing and the women reply. The sea gull dance.
2. Mandelprindi speaks and the women reply.
3. The song and dance sequence which is the core of the Gunabibi.
4. The opossum dance.

1. The next morning, before the morning meal has been eaten, the men leave the main camp and go to the men's ceremonial grounds. Here they stand in a line before a clear space about fifty or seventy-five yards in diameter and surrounded by heavy underbrush. They hold their spears, heads up, on the ground before them and beat time on the spear shafts with their spear-throwers. The leader often uses two boomerangs instead. They sing in a fast rhythm.

The leader stands before them as a director of the chorus. At the end of the song, which is repeated over and over, he calls out in a high, shrill voice:

"Ah! Yai! Ah! Yai! Ah! Yai!"

The women in the camp answer with the high shrill sound they make when they hear the bull roarer. After some five or ten minutes of singing a dancer appears from the bush and dances toward the leader and chorus. Neither the leaders nor the members of the chorus are decorated, but the dancer is heavily ornamented and represents a male sea gull. 852 535

535 852 292 302 On his head is a high painted headdress ("dunce cap") made of ti tree bark, topped with a bunch of native companion's feathers. The bark is covered with red ocher. The body of the dancer is completely coated with human blood, and the body from the waist up, as well as the arms and the shoulders, is covered with perpendicular parallel lines of birds' down, and bunches of leaves are attached to the upper arm. The face may have two horizontal lines running from ear to ear above and below the eye, with one additional line that crosses the face at the chin.

852 535 The dancer advances with slow deliberate rhythm in a zigzag course as though he had heavy weights attached to his feet. As he changes his course and his flight across the field, he squats and shakes his shoulders, which makes the leaves on his arms quiver like the feathers of a bird. He kneels and faces the chorus. The leader and men surround him, knock off his headgear and rub his back to rub off some of the birds' down that has been glued on it, and the leader sings, "Gunabibi! Gunabibi!" in a voice which is impressively dramatic and sounds much like a modern priest chanting a prayer. ("Gunabibi" is one of the names used for Muit and Yurlunggur.)

852 2. The dancing stops. A man comes out with a bull roarer and whirls it. In camp the women answer in a trilling high soprano.

533 3. The bull roarer is put away, and the chorus and leader sit down in a circle and sing mandelprindi. A few men stand up and move back and forth behind the others. They have their stone spears attached to their spear-throwers. They are supposed to be fighting men. The leader stands in front of all. The following song sequence, the heart of the Gunabibi ceremony and often repeated, is gone through for the first time.

Sea gull	male, female, and eggs
A small snake (bolokmi)	male, female, and eggs
Native companion	male, female, and eggs
Small rock python (wirtit)	male, female, and eggs
Muit (python totemic spirit)	male, female, and eggs
Small fresh-water snake	male, female, and eggs
Sea gulls	male, female, and eggs
A small snake (bolokmi)	male, female, and eggs
Sea eagle (dimala)	male, female, and eggs
Rock python (Wirtit)	male, female, and eggs

852 (4) A small Dua bird
533 (5) Male opossum
(6) Female opossum
(7) Fire
(8) Male and female opossums

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4. Dancers then come out grunting in imitation of the opossums. They have bark penises sticking erect from their belts. Some men without these appendages are female opossums. They may or may not simulate copulation.

After dancing for some few moments, the opossums bow before the chorus on their hands and knees, and the leader sings, "Gunabibi, Gunabibi!" The leader rubs each dancer's back with his hand.

The bark penises are removed and the dance is over. The python ritual is sung again. The opossums, a small kangaroo (Yiritja moiety), fire, and mandelprindi are also sung. This completes the day's ceremony. The two ritual periods—morning and evening—occur every day throughout the ceremony.

When the new moon (narlindi yurta) appears, this section of the ceremony is completed, and the next morning the men dance the last element of the sequence.

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Native Interpretation.—The animals sung or danced are supposed to be those seen by the Wawilak women on their way north from the interior. They all belong to various clans and totem wells found specifically on the women's route and generally throughout the western and southern part of the Murngin tribe. (The totems in the east tend to center around the Djunkgao myth rather than the Wawilak.) —"Those two sisters named all those animals. As they went they said, 'By and by you will be maraiin.'" Some of the animals and plants danced, though they have totemic significance, do not have totemic emblems; but in a sense the dance itself serves to make them for the moment a totem, and the dance becomes a totemic expression, since the bodies of the dancers and maraiin express the totemic essence in the same way a totemic emblem does.

The bull roarer here, as before, is the voice of the snake, and when the women of the camp trill their answer they are the two old Wawilak sisters calling out to Yurlunggur.

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When the various groups dance together, it is literally what it appears to be, making one people out of them. "The making of one

mob in a dance is all the same as making one people out of all those 852
people from [by use of] the Gunabibi."

The tall headdresses of the dancers are supposed to be the snake's 535 ● 773
neck or the neck of the animal that is being danced. They are also the house of the two women. The feather headdress on top of the dunce-cap arrangement is the snake's head looking over the house. And when the whole headdress is knocked off at the end of the dance, it means the house has been destroyed by the rain and swallowed by the snake. When the backs of the dancers are rubbed by the leader, it means the snake is licking them, preparatory to swallowing them.[17] The cycle of songs sung and the dance, first of the male of the species, then of the female, and finally their offspring, are symbolical of reproduction. Said one of the leaders, "Black men walk about single, and by and by catch a mate who belongs to them, and by and by children come. Macassar man walks about by himself, by and by catch his woman, and more children come out. Big kangaroo walks about single and by and by he catches a woman and by and by there are children. It is all the same for opossum, fly, and bandicoot. Snake catches a mate and by and by there are children, and it is all the same for lizard, honeybee, pigeon, and bird, and turtle and everything. Black man cuts down tree and by and by little ones come up. It is all the same. Walk about single, by and by mate, and by and by children. It is all the fault of those women. If they hadn't done wrong in their own country this would not have happened. If they had not menstruated in Mirrirmina this would not have happened. Everyone, all plants and animals, would have stayed single. But after they had done these bad things, they made this new law for everyone."

Opossum is looked upon by the Murngin as a libidinous fellow.

D. The Line of Dancing Men Surround All the Women of the Camp

1. The men carry lighted torches and in a single file dance to the 852
border of the common camp where the women are huddled in a 535
group. Two old women beat the ground with clubs or yam sticks.

1. After this they gather some bushes, put them in their armpits and, carrying lighted torches of paper bark, leave the men's ceremonial grounds and start dancing toward the main camp.

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[17] Cf. Djunggaun, page 278.

852 Meanwhile the women, under the guidance of an old man, leave their camp, form themselves into a solid, circular mass, and sit down in the territory between the main camp and the men's ceremonial grounds. They hide under their ainmaras (mats). Two old women walk up and down in front of the other women, beating the ground with clubs or digging sticks, and telling the young women that they cannot eat certain taboo foods or they will become ill and probably die; they will have sores on their bodies and rot away and harm their clan's people as well.

With a line of men, two Yiritja water snakes (kak-a-war) appear before the women and uninitiated boys for the first time. The snakes call out in high tones, and the women answer in the same high trill in which they reply to the bull roarer. The men dance in a circle [431] around the women. All the women make presents to the men, which are turned over to the two Yiritja snakes. The gift is obligatory, under penalty of illness and possible death sent by Muit, to whom the presents are supposed to be made. The two old women walk up and down, beating the ground with their clubs, and shout.

Their words can be freely translated: "Muit, do not come out any more and swallow us, for now we are clean and no longer impure":

Wal-mi	Come out	Nin-ne	Stop there
Nin-ni-niki	Stop there	Yuk-ka norl-tur	No swallow
Na-ma-tung	Make us good (from)	Ir-rk-tun	Sickness
Nangul Dul-yung-ur	(from) Blood sickness		
Mar-yalng-nao	We can live good	Mar-tjin-naerao	We can be healthy (no sick trouble)

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Native Interpretation.—The line of men which dances around the women huddled under the mats is the snake, and is also the two Wawilak women. The symbolic significance of the various men changes during the dance.—"When the men come out into the camp they are the two old Wawilak women at first. Then two Yiritja men at the side call out and then the line of dancers changes to proper

men. When they go around the women they are snakes. The two old 852
women who beat the ground are those two old Wawilak women who 535
beat the ground when Yurlunggur tried to swallow them. They are 773
beating Muit. They tell those young people they can't eat every kind of food or they will get sick and maybe die and they will have sores on their bodies and rot away. The old women walk up and down and say, 'Muit, don't you come out any more and swallow these people. We are good people, we are clean.'"

Other accounts say that when the men come out of the ceremonial grounds in a line and dance toward the group of women they are the snake who has smelled the blood of the two old women because "They are painted in that blood [meaning they have the blood from a man's arm, which is the symbolical menstrual blood of the Wawilak women]. They paint their noses and over their eyes; when the snake swallowed the women he bit them and the blood came. This makes them Wongar women too."

"The snake calls out to all the other snakes and they come up and 852
circle around the women. [See the Djungguan for a like interpretation.] The women are in their paper-bark house. When they take 773
their mats off, that means they have stood up before the snake swallows them. 382 The red ocher on their faces [the women's] is blood from where that snake bit them when they were swallowed. The two Yiritja snakes who call out are the spirits of the two children of the Wawilak women. They cry out and cry out."

"The presents the women give to the two [Yiritja] snakes go inside 852
the two snakes. Those two women are inside the snake. These presents 773
are swallowed by the snake just the same as those two women were 431
swallowed by the snake before." The presents given by the women are kept by the Dua leaders of the ceremony, but not before they have been put on the snake emblem (i.e., given to Muit; see E 2 below).

E. The Yiritja Messengers Leave to Invite the Other Clans to the Ceremony 852

1. The two Yiritja snakes leave to invite the other clans to the ceremony.
2. A symbolic well is dug, which all the dancers enter after the dance sequence of Section C is repeated.
3. The messenger snakes are sent out again to announce Gunabibi, while Section D is repeated and the presents given to the snake by the women are displayed.

852 [The activities of the foregoing sections, largely preparatory, have involved only the home camp. The arrival of the visiting clans marks the beginning of the most significant phases of the Gunabibi.]

852 1. The men then leave and go back to their ceremonial camp. The
202 two Yiritja snakes are given a human hair string decorated with
211 parrot feathers and tipped with white cockatoo feathers. It is a ceremonial "message stick" and represents the snake. The men leave with the message and go to the other clans, inviting them to the ceremony.

●[535] 2. Meanwhile the song and dance cycle of Section C 3 is gone through, starting with the unmated male sea gull and ending with the four Muits. At the same time a large round hole is dug in the men's ceremonial grounds by the members of the Yiritja moiety. All the animals, birds and plants which dance get in the well with the two Yiritja snakes. In theory the two snakes leave with a message stick; but in practice this seldom happens, unless they go to nearby clans. They wait until the end of the ceremony, centered around the taboo hole, before departing; or if they do leave, two other men enact the rôles of the Yiritja snakes. The leader sings over them, and they all dance in the well as one people.

852 A month has supposedly gone by since the departure of the messengers, and the moon is once more new. Once again the men put bushes under their arms, carry lighted torches, leave their own ceremonial ground, and dance out near the women's ground, where
[431] they surround the group of women. The old women repeat their previous performance. Gifts are again made by the women.

All the men, including the two Yiritja snakes carrying the presents made by the women, return to the men's camp again. A forked stick railing is placed around the taboo well and the gifts are hung on it. The Dua leaders of the Gunabibi ceremony keep the gifts after this offering has been made to Muit.

852 3. The two Yiritja snakes and the initiated son or younger brother
202 of the leader of the Gunabibi (in other words, two Yiritja moiety men and one Dua moiety man) are given a mandelprindi and told to go to all the clans and tell them they are ready for the final phases of the ceremony. The Yiritja snakes are sometimes spoken of as the waku of Yurlunggur, and the son of the leader is "all the same as the snake. He can't sing out, but the Yiritja snakes do it for him." The Yiritja men whirl the bull roarer outside the camps of the various clans as a signal that the final dance will start and also as an invitation and virtual command for all who hear to appear.

At the various camps messengers supposedly go through some of

the performances that have been held at the original camp. The 852
sounds they make are the voice of the snake. The women's reply from 202
the other camps is that of the two old Wawilak women. The hole dug
is a representation of a Mirrirmina well and is sung over to be made
such by the power names of that well. The sequence of dances is the 852
same sea-gull-to-Muit cycle; the unmated men dance first and then 535
the females. The dancers who symbolize the unmated males and
females do not go in the well. Only mated groups of males and
females enter.

Native Interpretation.—The reason for keeping the unmated male 852
and female dancers out of the well, according to the leader of several
of the ceremonies, is the same as that given for separating the males 825
and female in the cycle of songs in Section C. "That snake is all the 535
same as a man.—[Here he was speaking of the rock python and other
snakes who are the living counterparts of the totemic spirits.] He walks
about single [a male dances up to the entrance to the hole]. A woman
snake walks about single and lays eggs. By and by at stringy-bark
flower time in the dry season they find each other. Mobs of these
snakes find each other and they copulate and lay eggs for children
[all the dancers go inside the hole]. When the wet season comes one
man goes one way and another man goes another way looking for rat
and lizard food. By and by those eggs break and the children of the
snake come out. They walk about single, the female goes one way,
and the male another. The dry season comes and a mob comes out and
they copulate and make eggs again and go along a hole because this
is a house for them." When the snakes congregate "all kinds mixed up,
they all go into the one hole for copulating. In the [early] morning up
in the big rocks before daylight they come out a little way and copulate.
Two more come out, man and woman, man and woman, and
copulate and then go into the hole."

F. THE KARTDJUR IS MADE AND THE GUNABIBI WELL ABANDONED

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1. A crescent-shaped trench, the kartdjur, is dug, and the well abandoned.
2. The snakes dance in the kartdjur; the copulation of the libidinous man and woman and of the two rock pythons.

1. After the messengers leave, the round taboo hole is abandoned 852
and a larger crescent-shaped trench is dug. The trench (kart-djur) is 535
four or five feet deep; the earth is piled along its concave sides. It is
about ten feet long, and the width is sufficient for two men to pass

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by each other while dancing inside it. While the messengers are away and the new trench is being dug, the Gunabibi cycle of songs and dances from the single male sea gull to the four Muits is gone through by the leader and his chorus.

2. The snakes are allowed to dance in the kartdjur, but none of the others except the palm tree are allowed to go inside it.

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After the Gunabibi cycle, a single man filled with sexual desire and looking for a mate is danced. Then a man representing a single woman, also sexually hungry and looking for a mate, is danced. And finally the two together perform a dance; meeting at the entrance to the kartdjur, they simulate copulation but do not enter the "well."

The moon is now full, and people have been coming from the other clans to participate in the ceremony. Messages are usually brought by them that the two Yiritja snakes are coming with more people. Visitors and messengers take part in the dance around the kartdjur. All the men in the ceremony dance rock pythons copulating. The last dance of the entire series is that of the blue-tongued lizard. He dances in from a long way in the bush and goes inside the kartdjur. The appearance of this symbol indicates to all that a transition is taking place in the Gunabibi.

Native Interpretation.—"The kartdjur is that head inside the woman's vagina. It is all the same as her marn-bu [clitoris]. The crescent shape [shown by curve of fingers] is the way the two women laid down in the house before the snake swallowed them."

G. YERMERLINDI

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1. The Yeritja make Yermerlindi—two poles symbolizing the snake and a palm tree, and covered with blood.
2. The Yiritja camp; Dua give presents to the Yiritja.
3. The neophytes are placed on the kartdjur and sweat is placed on their eyes. Various dances include a clown element, the opossums, the Wawilak sisters, and finally blue-tongued lizard.
4. The initiates see Yermerlindi and are instructed and warned by the old men.
5. The Yermerlindi are knocked down and put in the kartdjur, and the men put blood on themselves.

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1. During the last period, when the kartdjur is being used, the Yiritja moiety men participating in the Gunabibi ceremony have been making the yermerlindi emblems. They are about fifteen feet long and two and a half wide. They have a pole as a solid core and are

852 535 [534] A large group of men, covered with white clay blown on them from the mouths of their fellow dancers, dance around the kartdjur and then go back to the end of the connecting trench and dance down to the kartdjur again. They are opossum dancers and grunt in time to the beating together of the two leaders' boomerangs. As they dance, the opossums and leaders start filling up the kartdjur with the loose earth around it.

The opossums are followed by two dancers who represent the Wawilak sisters. They have paper-bark bundles under their arms to represent their babies. At the end of each song of the chorus the dancers cry in a high whine in imitation of a newly born child. They squat inside the trough and cry again. The crying, in contrast with the heavy voices of the men's chorus, again has a note of absurdity in it and is a source of much laughter.

The last dance is the blue-tongued lizard. He is painted across his back with a white horizontal stripe. Keeping his legs very stiff, he wriggles along on his abdomen, with a wave-like motion, to the kartdjur. When he stops inside it the leader intones, "Gunabibi! Gunabibi!" over him. The hole is further filled until the greater part of it is covered.

852 778 4. The singing now changes to the song, yermerlindi. A fire is made. The Dua leader cries to the neophytes, "Look! See what you can see! I think Bapa Indi is coming out of the water."

The two Muit emblems are brought in; two men hold them upright with the rock pythons painted in blood on the white surfaces gleaming in the light of the many fires before the eyes of the frightened initiates.

The neophytes are told by the old men that the emblems are real pythons, that the spirit of Muit is inside them, and that they are very dangerous, even though they have been made by men, for Muit now walks around the jungle like a man. They are also warned to tell nothing of what they have seen to the women and uninitiated boys.

5. Two men bring in a pole and hold it horizontally about waist-high from the ground, on the concave side of the kartdjur. The yermerlindi are stood on the convex side. They are pushed over and allowed to hit the pole, while all the chorus cries out in shrill tones. They are picked up and again allowed to fall. This continues until the feather headpieces on the top of the emblems fall off.

852 The yermerlindi are put in the kartdjur. The grass around them is burned and the inner poles are charred. While this is being done,

hold on to it with their two hands. Although their feet are on the ground they are supposed to be hanging from the pole. 852

3. Several old men now go to the women's camp, gather all the women and children into one group, and march with them toward this ceremonial structure. The women have smeared themselves with red ocher; they advance dancing. Two old women run along beside the rest of the women and the children, beating the ground with their yam sticks and calling out to the great snake (see page 299, where they address Muit). The women sit down about twenty-five feet to one side of the structure. 852 535

4. All the men dancers remain about thirty yards from the scene, hidden in palm-tree thickets or mangrove jungles. They are decorated with bushes under their arms. The men dance into the clearing in single file. They dance around the initiates, the two Yiritja snakes, and the women and children. The two Yiritja snakes cry out and the women answer. The women then arise and return to the main camp. The men sit down in a line beside the ridgepole, and paralleling it. The initiates are taken from the pole at the same time and placed at the back of a line of men.

5. The seated men hold out their left arms (the far side from the forked pole) and the initiates crawl under them. They shake their shoulders as they advance to the head of the line. When each initiate crawls under the arm of the man who heads the line and who sits by the forked pole, the Yiritja snake sitting on this forked pole hands the neophyte a piece of vegetable (usually ground palm nut). The boy takes it, puts it in his mouth, and spits it out again. The particle of food is covered up. When the last neophyte has enacted this rite, the forked-stick phase of the ritual is finished. 852

6. That night mandelprindi sounds again and the women reply. The leader gathers the initiates in a circle at the edge of the men's camp and the men dance around the boys. They sing the same songs as those sung when they danced around the women and boys during the forked-stick rite. With the men leading and the boys bringing up the rear, the whole group of males then dance off in single file to the men's ceremonial place. Here the boys' forehead bands (gar-lam-ba) are removed without ceremony. They are given to the leader, who is supposed to keep them for the next Gunabibi. The older men usually elect to wear forehead pieces and also now give their bands to the leader. This ends the Gunabibi except for ceremonial purification. 852 535

884 A. THE FOUR KANGAROOS RUN AWAY

1. The four kangaroos and the line of men at the boundary line between the men's and the women's camps.
2. The women appear and the kangaroos run away to the men's ground.
3. The men remove all articles of dress and ornament and cut their hair.
4. The men dance individually.

1. When it is decided to hold an Ulmark ceremony, which may or may not be every year—although theoretically it should be—the older men cut down a tall tree, take the top out of it, remove the branches, and carry the log to the ground which forms the dividing line between the men's ceremonial ground and the main camp. Next morning four [616] men, two from the Yiritja moiety and two from the Dua, sit down on the log. The two Yiritja men represent the large gray kangaroo (kai-tjim-bal) and the two Dua men are stone kangaroos (pardi-pardi). All of the initiated men sit down in a line by them.

884 535 2. An old man goes to the general camp,[10] collects all the women, and brings them to the spot where the log has been placed. The women dance in, single file, carrying yam sticks and singing "Kait-bal kait-bal" The kangaroos run away from them toward the men's ceremonial ground, followed by the other men walking with high steps in slow rhythm. The women follow to the near boundaries of the men's grounds and then dance back, still singing "Kait-bal kait-bal"

884 3. When the kangaroos reach the ceremonial grounds they throw away all their body ornaments and dress, including their armlets, wristlets, and pubic coverings, until they are completely nude. They then cut their hair.

884 535 4. After the log episode, the men start dancing, morning and evening, with the day given up to any occupations they may have, as during the Gunabibi. A chorus sings and one man dances while the

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[10] The grounds of the Ulmark are largely similar to those found in the Djungguan. There is the usual division of the territory into two parts: (1) the general camp where the women dance and which is sometimes referred to as the women's dance ground, and (2) the men's ceremonial ground where in the earlier part of the ceremony a bush house is made for the ceremonial totemic drum, and where two triangular dance grounds are made. In the earlier sections of the ceremony (see Section C, etc.), the triangular dance ground is on the surface of the ground and is formed by heaping up earth to demark its limits. In later sections a triangular dance ground is excavated (see Section G), referred to by the natives sometimes as the dance hole, sometimes as the snake ground, sometimes as the well. A bark house for totemic paintings is also erected on the men's ceremonial grounds.

others gather around him. His step is almost a complete reproduction 884
of a modern "buck and wing" jig step. When he has finished he takes 535
his spear-thrower and designates the next dancer by tapping one of the chorus on the shoulder with it. This individual also does a solo dance and then taps another. This continues until all the individuals in the group have danced at least once.

Native Interpretation.—The leader of the Ulmark ceremony told me, 884
"The logs are the backbone of Muit." The men who sit on it are two 535
kaitjimbal (large kangaroos who are Yiritja) and two pardi-pardi 113
(stone kangaroos who are Dua). "They dance because those two old women named them in their dance. The two old women tried to catch these kangaroos but they ran away." The two Yiritja kangaroos are called gur-warn or messengers: "They are all the same as the kakawar [Yiritja snakes] in the Gunabibi."

The women represent the Wawilak women throughout the whole dance. "The women get up and dance around like those two [Wawilak] women did before when the rain fell down. The women carry yam sticks like those two women did. They are trying to stop the rain and to stop Muit from coming out." The words "Kait-bal kait-bal" were supposedly used by the two Creator Sisters in the Liaalaomir clan country.

The men take off their ornaments and "clothing" and cut their hair "so that they will go very poor and skinny and look like a man gets when there is a long wet and little food. They are all the same as waiting for the dry season to come." These acts symbolize the effect of ceremonial uncleanliness on nature and man.

Concerning the solo dance, I was told: "They dance this way because those two women did that and when one sister finished dancing, she hit the other sister with a spear-thrower and this one started dancing."

B. The Ceremonial Drum, Uvar (the Great Python) Is Made 884

1. A large hollow log is formed into a drum and beaten with a pandanus stump. 534

1. During the progress of Section A several men, including the leader or his younger brother, go into the surrounding bush and select a hollow tree, cut it down, clean it out, and remove the outer bark. The log is recut to a four- or five-foot length and carried to a small bush house that has been made for it on the men's ground. Here it is [531]
painted with snake figures, emus, and other animals, as well as plants.

and not go to the main camp until the Ulmark ceremony is over. 884
They do not dance. The women stay in the women's camp. The 533
women form themselves into groups according to their clan, and
dance and sing, "Kait-ba! kait-ba!"

The men, also grouped according to clan, sing:

(1) The honeybee (Yer-paip) of the Dua moiety
(2) Small stone kangaroo (pardi-pardi)
(3) A grub found in rotten wood floating on lakes and rivers (Ka-mer-ung)
(4) A grub found in the trunk of the pandanus tree
(5) An acacia tree grub (Bar-ler-wir-lar)
(6) A grub found in the roots of the lake grass (I-nur-i)
(7) A grub found in the lily bulbs

At the end of each song cycle a call is made that is the same as the chorus refrain of the Djungguan ceremony.

Native Interpretation.—"When they [the messengers] hit the tree it 884
is like when those two women were walking and saw honeybees' nest 173
and cut down the tree,"—i.e., the tree that is beaten by the messengers 202
is hollow, as was the tree which the old women cut down.
The hollow tree is also beaten as a substitute for the hollow log drum.

The triangular dance ground is "all the same as the Djungguan." 884
It is called barn-ga-ga and means python's body. "The women dancing 173
are the two Wawilak sisters." The songs that the men sing when they 533
are divided into groups are "every kind of animal that the two women
saw on their way down to Mirrirmina." These songs are to stop Muit
and were sung by the two Wawilak women.

D. The Torres Straits Pigeon and Uvar

1. The pigeon emblem is placed twice within the drum on the triangular 884
dance ground. 535

1. After the completion of the dance ground, the leader announces
that the Torres Straits pigeon dance will be performed. The man who [302]
dances this dance has red ocher on his face, a white head band, dots
on his body, and a red ocher surfacing from the knees to the elbows.
A man brings the ceremonial drum, Uvar, and lays it down at the
large end of the triangular dance ground. A small light stick is painted,
and feathers are tied to one end to represent the pigeon.

The dancer lies down on the ground beside the "pigeon," crying out, "Wah! Wah!!" He picks up the pigeon, arises, and dances a short

884 distance toward the triangular ceremonial ground and sits down again.
535 While he does this the male chorus sings out the refrain of the Ulmark.
552 The leader also calls out the taboo names of this variety of pigeon.
The dancer rises and, when he reaches the ceremonial drum, thrusts the bird emblem into the tail end of the drum as far as his arm will reach. He then dances around to the other end of the drum and pulls the pigeon out at that end. He dances up to the head of the dance ground, returns to the drum and once more pushes the pigeon emblem into the drum, this time at the head end, and pulls it out on the opposite side. The Straits Pigeon dance is repeated for several days, and occasionally weeks, before it is abandoned for the next part of the Ulmark sequence.

884 *Native Interpretation.*—(1) This means "Wongar snake came out of
173 his well and ate this Wongar pigeon all the same as the rock python snake today. He ate this pigeon before he ate those two women."

E. The Stone Spear-head Dance

884 1. Parrot-feather string is brought out of the men's baskets and is placed over the ironwood stakes.

535 1. When the pigeon dance is over, the four kangaroo messengers, who have kept their new parrot-feather ceremonial string ornament hidden in their personal baskets until this time, bring it out and wrap it around two small slabs of ironwood which are supposed to be stone spear heads and are inserted into spear shafts. The four men then stand in a line, one behind the other; the first and the last carry the spear emblems in the crook of their elbows. They dance up to the tail of the snake ground and then across it to the head where the chorus stands, hesitate, and then go back to the tail again. This is repeated a number of times while the chorus sings out the Ulmark refrain and the
552 leader calls out the taboo names of stone spear heads. None of the youths being initiated is allowed to see this section of the Ulmark, which is called by the taboo name of the stone spear head (Mar-ul-pul).

884 *Native Interpretation.*—The ironwood stakes symbolize stone spear
173 heads and are also associated with women, who use ironwood stakes as digging sticks. The two sisters were carrying the spear heads in their
535 baskets. They "walked around their camp at the time of the rain with a stone spear looking for the snake to hit and stop him. The two women walked in a line."—"That small sister said, 'What will we do with this one [the head of the spear in her basket]?' The older sister said, 'Take

it out and put it away.' The dance was after the women came to Mirrirmina. The blood has come. Those animals run away, and the rain and the thunder and the lightning have started. They dance these things to stop them." 884 773 535

F. The Headdress Dance

1. A dance sequence consisting chiefly of tree-grub dances is performed. 884 535

1. The next dance is the feather headdress ritual (kurt kurt). The men sit down in a line on the men's dance ground. The first man has a feathered headdress in his hand, the next has none, the third has one, and so on. The men rise and go repeatedly through the same movements as in the last dance: up to the tail of the snake, across to the head, hesitate, and back to the tail again.

The dances of Section C are repeated a number of times, always using the above movements.—When a cycle of dances is repeated, the *general* order is always the same, e.g., bees, kangaroos, grubs; but the order in which several grubs, e.g., are danced may vary.

Native Interpretation.—"The totemic name of the headdresses is darl-poing-ngo and its inside meaning is the Dar-pa snake." 884 535

Grubs are either classed as snakes or are closely associated with them. "Those women danced all these things to stop the rain. The grubs are the things they danced." 773

At about this time in the progress of the Ulmark all the men change baskets and fire drills, which temporarily ends the ceremony. All the participants now go to their own clan's country or remain as visitors until the ceremony starts again. Sometimes the preliminary portion of the Ulmark is extended through the whole dry season and the final part left until the following dry season, but ordinarily the complete performance is gone through at one season. If the ceremony is to last two seasons, the various participants repeat the dance sequences at their own clans throughout the rainy season, although because of the inclement weather and the difficulty of obtaining food, the dancing is not daily but only at intervals. 884 535

G. Certain Ritual Paraphernalia Are Constructed 884

1. Kangaroo-tail emblems are constructed.
2. The sunken triangular dance ground is dug.
3. The women's dance ground is prepared.
4. A winding path is placed around the men's ground.

upon as the same by the natives. "Those bushes are put around a hole 884 just the same as in the Djungguan. The two camps [dance grounds] 173 are just the same as in the Djungguan."—"The tail [of the triangular dance ground] goes out by the women's camp. This means he has already swallowed those two women." (In the Djungguan the triangular ground also represents the snake after he has swallowed the two women. See page 273.) "The bushes are the two women who have been spewed out by the snake. They are [also] an ant bed on the ground where that snake first fell down at Mirrirmina."

When the women dance in their camp dance ground they are those two Wawilak sisters. The winding path which is made around the men's ground, and which of course surrounds the triangular dance ground as well as the bark house, is supposed to be the track of Muit when he was surrounding the two women; and the triangular dance ground always faces southeast because "that rock place at Mirrirmina looks that way."

When the snail-shell rattles appear it means that "the two women made this at Mirrirmina, and it was to show they were tired and near the finish of the dance." The snail-shell rattle is symbolical of marl- [534] pin-pin (snail) itself. Its "inside meaning" is the garna, an ordinary wooden spear used by the women to stick in holes when looking for snails.

The bark house is that made by the two women when they tried to avoid the rain and being swallowed by the snake. There is supposedly a depression in the rocks and ground at Mirrirmina where the women had their house in which they put all their ritual properties during the rain. The two women left in it their hair belts and opossum string, and all the tools, weapons, and implements used by modern Murngin men. They were left for and found by the Wawilak men.

H. The Snail-shell Rattle Dance

1. The men dance with the snail-shell rattles on the boundary of the 884 men's and women's grounds. The women give them gifts of 535● "clothing." 431

1. The spear-throwers with the snail-shell rattles attached are brought out toward the main camp by the men. All of the male members enter the camp except the messengers, who remain in the ceremonial grounds. As they approach, the men sing and dance Flood Water. They meet the women who have marched out from their own camp and stopped on the ground intermediate to the camps. The women have gathered from

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all the women of their camp, pubic coverings, head circlets, and all other articles of adornment and clothing as presents for the men.

The line of men singing and dancing Flood Water call out "Wah! Wah!" as they dance, and are answered by the women with the usual cry of "Kait-ba! kait-ba!" The men's arms are covered with leaves, the women are not painted or decorated. When the men are facing the women and only a few feet away, they stick the spear-throwers with the snail-shell rattles into the ground. The women dance up to them, the old men accept the presents of clothing from them and tell them to start gathering palm food for the guests coming to the last part of the Ulmark. The men then return to their own grounds. The old men put the women's presents in the snake house.

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Native Interpretation.—"Snail is just the same as snake," and also, the snail was among the animals who ran away from the women. (See interpretation for Section K, page 323.)

I. The Messengers Leave Again

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1. The messengers announce the Ulmark again. Many of the earlier sections are redanced while they are away. The initiates are treated severely. Other dances are introduced.

1. Messengers are sent out to announce the final events of the Ulmark. While they are gone, first the usual cycle, from the Torres Straits pigeon through the various grub dances, is danced in the excavated snake ground. The men also dance the jig steps of the two old women, the old men sometimes holding firebrands in their hands like penises. They shake them in the faces of the neophytes to frighten them and to amuse the initiated. The old men always appear to be extremely angry with the boys who are under initiation.

Then the clowns paint themselves to represent centipedes. They also dance the kangaroo leap-frog sequence and the line of men with spears in their arms. The little boys who are being initiated are forced to stay awake and watch this performance. The men swear at them unless they give complete attention to the ceremony. These last dances, which are not part of the cycle, are done not in the snake hole (excavated triangular dance ground) but some little distance away on the first triangular dance ground constructed earlier in the ceremony (Section D). They also dance a large flying insect (Di-kar) that comes just before the rain time, followed by a black butterfly (Burn-ba) dance, and a red butterfly dance.

Native Interpretation.—According to the natives' statements, the symbolization here is the same as in Section C when the kangaroo messengers leave the first time. 884

J. The Grub Dance Sequence

1. Several varieties of grubs are danced, as well as honeybees and other species. 884 535

   (1) The acacia tree grub (Bar-ler-wir-lar); a headdress made of the sulphur-crested cockatoo is worn for this dance. [292]
   (2) A grub found in the ant beds (Gu-lung-a). Two men sit with their backs together, bend their torsos forward so that the head is as near the ground as possible, and then swing the body from left to right and back again.
   (3) The lake and river floating-wood grub.
   (4) Plain's grass grub. The bodies of the dancers are covered with small circular dots made by dipping the end of a bamboo rod into white paint and pressing it against the skin. [302]
   (5) The lily grub.
   (6) Small kangaroo (pardi-pardi).
   (7) The Dua honeybee's honey found in a dead tree.
   (8) The Dua bee's honey found in a green tree.
   (9) The tiger snake (Dar-pa).
   (10) The sulphur-crested cockatoo headdress (Kurt Kurt).
   (11) The two Yiritja and two Dua kangaroos. The four sit down and the chorus surrounds them. The leader sings out the taboo names of the kangaroo. The chorus represents bushes and trees.

Native Interpretation.—The things sung in this all-inclusive list of songs are "the things the two women named and saw on their way."

K. The Settlement of Old Feuds

1. Old feuds are settled and a clown helps prevent open fighting and the destruction of the ritual. The ki-djin "language" is taught, and there is a repetition of earlier sections of the Ulmark. 884
2. The initiates are placed in a line, one behind the other.
3. Two lines of men throw the snail-shell rattles to each other.
4. A line of men and one of women on the boundary line of the male and female camps throw the snail rattles back and forth.
1. The above sequence of dances takes a month or six weeks to per-

884 form. When the moon is about quarter full in the west the messengers return. Everyone becomes very quiet; that peculiar type of quietness reigns in which one almost feels there is trouble brewing within a Murngin camp.—Then the people who have had trouble during the last year, or even prior to that time, begin to quarrel and fight. They are always of different clans, never members of the same group. When [198] fights start, the leaders stop them. The people who have been keeping the Ulmark stand by, spears in hand, and talk the ki-djin "language" to them; some sing it. The "language" is a kind of native pidgin which includes words from the Mullikan, Djuan, and other native languages from the south.

884 A man noted for his clownish abilities takes his spear and spear-thrower from his personal basket, eats his food in an absurd manner, 522 and generally acts the fool while he talks the kidjin language. Everyone laughs at this performance. If one of the quarreling men turns on the clown, the latter points a spear at him and pretends to spear him. The general loud laughter from everyone keeps the angry one from committing any overt act; and since the clown and his audience express no hostility, the offended man cannot cause trouble. It is clear that this clowning is a method of preventing feuds from breaking out during the ceremony.

884 The Torres Straits pigeon is danced again and the pigeon pulled 535 through the drum as before. The spear is danced again, and the entire remaining sequence of Ulmark dances repeated; the snail shells are [302] placed on the spear-throwers as before, and all the men paint their bodies and upper arms and legs with red ocher and kangaroo grease.

884 2. The initiates lie down in two lines. The four messengers sing near the general camp, but low enough so that the women cannot hear 533 them. They sing in the kidjin language. Then they sing louder, and the women answer with the refrain: "Kait-ba! kait-ba!"

3. On the men's ground two lines of dancers throw the snail rattles back and forth. They, too, sing the refrain of the women. After this all go to the general camp singing the kait-ba song. They take the marl-pin-pin with them. When they get on the ground near the general camp they change the refrain to a kind of low humming noise, "m-u-mmmmmmmmm."

884 4. The women meanwhile have come out to the intermediate ground and stand in a line, and the men approach and form themselves into a line opposite them. The men from one clan throw a snail-shell rattle to the women belonging to the same clan. They throw the

marl-pin-pin back again. When it has gone back and forth and every- 884
one has thrown the marlpinpin, the women finally keep it. The men [535]
now dance while singing "Kait-bal kait-bal" and return to the men's
ground, the women following until they reach the edge of the taboo
ground. The men go inside and the women return to their camp.

Native Interpretation.—"The kidjin language means talk used by 884
the two old women when they looked up into the sky and tried to stop 198
the rain and Muit." (It is also used in fighting and hunting; a man 113
looks at his spear and tells it to go straight. See also story of Emu and
Jabiru, Appendix VIII, page 543.)

"Those two women are singing to stop Muit all night and to stop 884
the raining. The young men lie down the way the children of the 113
two women did." When the boys lie down in two lines, "They are the
two women. This is how they did it before."

"When the men come toward the general camp they dance the two Wawilak women at first." That is why the line of men sing Kait-bal kait-bal, for this is the cry of the two women. When they change and make the humming sound, "This is Muit coming for the two women. That is why the camp women are singing 'Kait-bal kait-bal' now."

The men and women throw the marlpinpin at each other "because the two women did. They did it because they knew lots of rain was coming. Snail is just the same as snake. He comes out just before the rainy season. That snail ran when the women had that blood."

L. The Fire Dance with Spears and Yams

1. A bark cylinder is made with spears at one end and yams at the 884
other. The cylinder is fired and the men dance in the flames.

1. The men sing all night long. The old sequence of Ulmark songs [533]
and dances is followed through in one night. Songs are also sung by
the chorus in which all the things the women saw and named on their
march to the sea are enumerated.

Two men leave the group and paint a bush yam with red ocher. 884
The same men roll up pieces of paper bark into a long cylinder about 535
one foot in diameter and about twenty feet long. Several spears are tied
together and also wrapped in paper bark. It is near daylight by this
time. A fire is built and the bark cylinder is placed with one end near
it. At the opposite end of the bark cylinder the wrapped spears are
placed. Two men sit at the fire end of the paper bark where the yam
has been placed. A line of men sits down on the spears and on the
paper-bark cylinder. The paper bark is lit and the men get up and

884 535 dance over it. Dancing the Ulmark jig step, the men break up the unburned bark and feed it to the fire. Each man dances till he feels the hair burn on his legs and it is too hot for him to continue. The bark is taken off the spears and also burned.

884 535 773 *Native Interpretation.*—The bark cylinder is the snake and the men sitting in a line on it are Muit too. The bark fire is also the snake. The burning of the paper bark is Muit disappearing. The men dance over the fires "so that they must burn their legs so that they can eat any animal." They are the two Wawilak sisters when they dance this. They are "Wawilak and unclean."

M. The Frill-neck Lizard Dance

884 535 1. Two men dance frill-neck lizard in a tree and jump into a fire.

1. This same morning the frill-neck, "big-eared" lizard is danced for the first time. It is used as a symbol to announce the end of a phase of the ceremony, just as the appearance of the blue-tongued lizard was in the Gunabibi. Two men dance it. They climb up a tree and hold on with their knees while waving their arms. A fire is lit beneath them. The two lizards jump on it and then run away.

[773] *Native Interpretation.*—"When the lizards jump in the fire they are running into Mirrirmina away from the two women."

N. Flying-Fox Dance and Snake Dance

1. Two lines of flying foxes surround seated figures of kangaroos, tiger snakes, and gray kangaroos. The men enter the triangular dance ground.
2. The dance of the snakes and small kangaroos in the sunken dance ground.

1. They next dance flying foxes. The flying foxes file in to the dance ground from the bush in two long lines. On the triangular dance ground eight men sit two by two with their backs to each other. They represent black kangaroo, gray kangaroo, and darpas (tiger snakes). The two lines of flying foxes encircle each pair of sitting dancers.

2. The sitting dancers inside the circles of flying foxes shake their shoulders and fling their bodies back and forth as did the grubs in the Ulmark dance described on page 321. The kangaroos and snakes take out their feather headdresses from their baskets and place them on their heads.

The initiates are not allowed to see the rest of this part (N) of the Ulmark. All the older men get up and run to the path that has been excavated in the snake ground; they run inside the path and into the hole. 884

Native Interpretation.—"Two men [the pairs of sitting men] go straight inside the hole we dig for them. That means that the snake has swallowed the two women and is going down the hole." [773]

O. THE CEREMONIAL CAMP IS ENCIRCLED BY FIRE 884

1. The men dance through the fire to the women's ground. They ceremonially wash and put on new raiment. [335

1. Two men paint themselves as darpa (tiger) snakes (Ma-ring-o in the Wangurri tongue, and U-var-ko in the Garl-ba-nuk dialect). One man paints himself to represent the small kangaroo (pardi-pardi). The two snakes squat down at the head end of the triangular excavated snake ground. The kangaroos sit down at the tail end, surrounded by the chorus. Lines of bushes are put on each side of the snakes. The kangaroos dance first. The chorus uses the swinging motion of the trunk described on page 321, and sings the taboo names of the kangaroo. After the snakes have danced, the men leave the ceremonial grounds and return to the women's camp. When the snake and kangaroo episode occurs, the neophytes are shown the excavation and instructed in the mythology for the first time. [302]

The women now make a fire that follows the path made by them earlier in the Ulmark (see Section G 4), which completely surrounds the men's ceremonial camp. The fire moves in toward the men. The women return to their own camp. The men paint themselves and all their possessions with red ocher. They shave and cut their hair to give themselves a "new" appearance. The women in camp also paint themselves and all their possessions, also to make them look "new." The men come out of their ceremonial ground and through the fire to the main camp. They dance out into the water and wash themselves, as do the women. When the men and women come back, they take kangaroo grease and red ocher and paint themselves. They put on a new white headband, freshly painted arm bands, a new hair belt, and a new pubic covering. 884 302 [291]

Native Interpretation.—"That fire is all the same as the two women made to cook the animals that ran away. [It is also the snake, and the snake's tongue.] The path is Muit." 884 173

884 S. THE FORKED-POLE DANCE IS REPEATED

1. In the camp several old men have made three or four stone fires as if they were going to cook kangaroo. The women dance out from
● [535] the general camp to the forked pole where the two women climb it as earlier in the ceremony. The men come out of the ceremonial ground and surround the women on the pole. They roar like the thunder. The women jump on the ground into the chorus of men, and the two men climb up on the pole and then jump on the ground. A chorus of women dances outside the group of men.

Native Interpretation.—The natives' interpretation is the same as for the first performance of the dance (Section P, page 326).

884 T. THE STONE FIRE AND SNAKE DANCE

884 783 *1.* The old men build a stone fire and the men inhale the smoke and squat over the fire in order to allow the smoke to enter their anuses.

1. All the men go to the general camp and divide into groups around the various stone fires the old men have made. The women dance around them. All the men hold their heads over the fires and inhale the smoke and heat. They also squat over the fire to allow the smoke to enter the anal opening. Men, women, and young boys then
[302] paint themselves with red ocher and kangaroo grease.

884 *Native Interpretation.*—When the men inhale the smoke, "this
884 means so we can eat any kind of food." When they put their anuses
773 over the fire, "This is like the Wawilak women did when that baby
783 was born." The women go through this same healing and purificatory rite today. The whole fire ceremony "means just the same as the place in the Gunabibi [Section I] when men go along the ridgepole and get food handed to them."

U. THE PALM NUT BREAD IS EATEN

884 1. The bread is divided and eaten by the men. The ironwood-leaf purification is held and the neophytes are steamed.

783 1. Several days later, possibly a week or more, the women bake a large palm nut loaf. The ceremonial bread is divided and eaten by all the men who participated in the ceremony. Another big stone fire is made. New body ornaments are placed on each man, and green bushes are held in the hands of each mature male to symbolize the trees that surround their ceremonial ground. The men dance around

the stone fire, and the women around them. Ironwood leaves (maipin) are put in the fire and a smoking branch is brushed over all the males and females who have been in the ceremony. To make a heavy steam, wet grass is put on the fire and the neophytes placed over it so that both mouth and anus are supposedly filled with purifying steam. This is to allow the young men to eat the large game which up to this time has been taboo to them. 884 783

Native Interpretation.—All the informants insisted that the interpretation of the steaming of the initiates is the same as in the Djungguan (Section H). The eating of the bread is a general symbol of communion which will be treated later.

General Summary of the Sections of the Ulmark

The ritual dances of the Ulmark ceremony divide themselves into two main groups of symbols: (1) the food animals' running away from the two women, and (2) the snake's swallowing the women and animals. 884 535 ●

THE MARNDIELLA CEREMONY

A. Preparations

1. The fathers are consulted. The boys are decorated. 852

1. The Marndiella is used as a circumcision rite and belongs to the Wawilak group. It is usually held when it is felt that certain boys are too large to be allowed to remain uncircumcised for another year and when the time is short and the wet season is at hand. In other words, it is used when the Djungguan ceremony is considered too long for the time at their command. It is the shortest of the four general tribal ceremonies centered around the Wawilak. The Marndiella never comes first by preference and is only used as an expedient. However, at times the Marndiella is prolonged, principally because of the Murngin's keen pleasure in all ceremonies and because it is felt to be not quite fitting to rush a ceremony through in so short a time.

The ceremony starts the afternoon before the circumcision is to take place. The leader in this ritual, as in all the others, is a clan ceremonial director. He confers with the fathers of the boys to gain their permission, or to set a time for the circumcision when the fathers have requested him to make their boys young men. On the afternoon of the day chosen to start the ceremony the boys are taken to the [614]

Native Interpretation.—"When a boy is put under an ainmara, that house is the house of the two old Wawilak women."—"Those women dancing around the ainmaras are told to do this to stop sickness and so the boy won't have trouble where he is cut."—"The couple under the ainmaras are the two Wawilak women," from the point of view of the myth and ritual. 852 713

"Marndiella was sung first by the two women before they sang the Djungguan and Gunabibi to try to stop the rain, but they couldn't stop it and the snake came and swallowed them."

D. THE DOG DANCERS ENTER

1. Two men dance in the main camp as dogs.

1. A dog dancer comes into the dance ground of the main camp after circling about in the nearby bush and on the camp ground. He has a high peaked hat on of the same type that is used in the Gunabibi. While he comes toward the group, all the taboo names of the country belonging to the Mandelpui, Liaalaomir, and Wawilak clans are cried out by the leader and male chorus. Another dog who has on only a forehead band instead of the high hat approaches the group from another quarter. The first dog comes in and smells the feet of the boy and girl and sits down at one end of the line of men. The other dog does likewise and sits at the other end. The boy gets up then and pulls a feather from off the decorated men. 852 535

When the boy pulls the feather off it means: "Those two women had that done to them when the rain knocked the feathers off when they danced around the bark house."

Native Interpretation.—This dance "means that boy is all the same as iguana, bandicoot, opossum, and kangaroo, and that dog has come to catch him. Those two women made it that way."

E. A LINE OF MEN DANCE INTO THE WOMEN'S CAMP WITH LIGHTED TORCHES

1. The boy, or boys, who are to be circumcised are once more placed under the ainmara, and a line of men with torches dance around them. [302]

1. The men then go out to the ceremonial ground and paint themselves with blood and feathers. They form a long line and dance into the women's camp carrying lighted torches of paper bark. The boy has been placed under the woman's mat and they dance around him. The leader stands by the men and sings torch fire (War-nan-bor-yo-

852 yor-o), honey (Bar-a-gar-la), and honeybee hive (Warl-kin-di). While
535 the leader sings, the chorus shrilly cries, "Ai—ai!!" Two birds who frequent the salt plains (Ta-bu-ta-bu) dance in while the chorus sings the name of these birds. The leader taps them with his singing sticks and makes them go over and sit down in the line formed by the chorus. The following dancers appear and are treated in the same way by the leader: honeybee, tiger snake (darpa), leech (djal-ng-nin), and two dogs. The hat worn by one of the dogs is knocked off.

The whole chorus then dance Dua honeybee. After this they tie bunches of leaves to their ankles and, beginning with the flying fox, the entire sequence of dances is performed again.

[773] *Native Interpretation.*—"That line of men come in with blood and feathers on them. They are snakes and they dance around the camp of the two Wawilak women."

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F. The Circumcision and Steaming Rites

1. The same dances are used for the steaming ceremony of the Marndiella as in the Djungguan.

1. The boy is then circumcised. The same procedure and method of cutting are followed here as in the Djungguan (Section H), and the purificatory fire rite is performed in exactly the same manner.

Native Interpretation.—The same set of symbolical ideas operates here as in the Djungguan.

000 The next chapter turns to a consideration of the Djunkgao myth and ritual cycle, and the reader may turn immediately to the interpretative chapter if he is interested in discovering the Murngin symbolic processes.

of the ceremony and says that he has cut ranga wood and wants to make the totemic emblem. If the time is proper the leader says, "Yes, we will go look at that log to see if it is the right size [for carving]." The old man, with other old men, goes out from the main camp to the totem grounds to see how large the ranga wood is. If it is a big log he says, "I think we'll make a woman ranga." If it is somewhat smaller he says, "I think iguana would be the thing to make." Other young men sometimes say at this time to the leader, "I would like to make a girl ranga." Another one says, "I should like to make a fish ranga," another, "I should like to make a wan-du-ma [mud fish]," and still others say, "We want to make a marn-bur [clitoris]." 796

The young men who are talking to the old leader are his yukiyuko, gatu, younger bapa, marelker, gurrong, mari, and kutara. The old man says to them, "When this Narra ceremony is finished you can sell the string from these rangas to your relatives, but you must come first and see me and make me a present. You can sell it to the Yiritja, you can sell it to people in the same camp. You can take out the string with parrot feathers on it and make bangles and streamers to hang down from your arms. That makes the arm strong when warding off spears. It will help break the spears." The various totemic emblems are usually made at this time. [301 789]

2. Late in the afternoon the leader and the initiated men leave the main camp and go out to the men's ceremonial grounds. A small quadrangular dance place has been prepared. This ground is made and used in the same way in the Narra ceremony of the other moiety. The leader takes his singing sticks, the men form themselves into a chorus in front of him. They sing "Um-um-um-wa!" which is to symbolize the running of the fresh water from a totem well located in the interior, and they dance back and forth across the dance ground. When the dancers turn at the end of the ground, they repeat the cry again and the tempo of the rhythm increases, which means that the water is running fast. After this dance has been repeated a great number of times, the leader, followed by his chorus, dances into the main camp. They walk about the place and call out the power names of rain and flood water and the springs that appear after the floods. Finally the leader says, "We will stop." The women give them food and they return to the Narra totemic grounds for further dancing. When they get on the dance ground they cry "Um-um-sis-sis-sis-wa!" 796 535

All the power names of water are now called up. 796

This finishes the dance for the evening. Some of the men return to

into totems. The word "can't" is not to be taken too literally, since 796
it would be possible, although unusual, to have but one totem 773
made.

The decorative materials used in the construction of the totemic emblems have a symbolical significance. I was frequently told: "Red parrot feathers on a ranga are all the same as fire. That log [the original totemic wood used in the Djunkgao myth] was lighted when those two women were here, and that made that fire. That fire now is red parrot feathers."

The water the men use in painting the rangas symbolizes the spring flood water coming from the totem well; and when the natives sang mud several of my informants said, "You can sing the mud song, not because we are using mud to cover our rangas with, but it is like we are painting our rangas with mud from the totem wells." The red ocher symbolizes the wet mud of the totemic wells where the totemic rangas are buried when not in use. The totemic mud has spiritual significance.

When the tempo increases during the singing of water on the dance ground, reference is not only to the water which is running faster but to the seasonal situation, since the totemic well water runs rapidly only during the heavy rain period.

After the women have given the men food and they return to the Narra dance ground to continue their dancing, the repetition of the earlier cries is supposed to be the sound of water coming after a heavy rain; it is running down a flooded creek in the wet season and is definitely associated, I was told many times, with the totemic well water.

B. The Totems Are Displayed

1. The men shave and fashion "Van Dyke" beards. The women 796
paint. Certain dances are performed and the totems displayed. 302

1. All the men shave their faces and leave a small growth of beard on the point of the chin. The leader sends white clay to the camp, and the women and uninitiated boys paint themselves there. They, as well as the men who also paint at this time, use a series of lateral bands running around the body and legs and arms. They are supposed to be iguanas and kingfishers.

The totemic emblems are danced with and shown to all the men 796
present, who include not only the men of the moiety giving the cer- 535
emony, but both Yiritja and Dua clansmen. All the men participate

535 196 in the dancing except, possibly, the older men, who sit at the side and watch, and make comments and give advice. The dance is supposedly given by the Dua for the Yiritja people to see. The leader says to the younger men of the Yiritja, "See this one? He is your waku," or, "He is your gawel," or whatever term the young man calls the leader. The young man's kinship term for the totemic emblem is the same as the one he applies to the leader and possessor of the emblem.

196 173 *Native Interpretation.*—Shaving occurs in several parts of the ceremony, but usually as repetition of the foregoing element of the ceremony. I was told by the natives: "We shave for this Narra because Wongar people shaved when they painted their rangas and put them in the mud," which means "in the time of the Djunkgao sisters when the Wongar men took away their totemic rangas." At another performance of the Narra I was told that all men shave and leave only a little hair on their chin because, "We take this ranga out and that string and give it to the Yiritja and Dua and sometimes to kutara." It is a common rationalization that the string is traded to members of the other moieties; usually a mari gives it to his kutara. The meaning of the shaving here is syncretistically associated with the string in the sense that the hair left in the beard is thought to be like or generically the same as the totemic string.

The paint the men use is supposed to be the semen of the Wongar yolno who tried to have sexual intercourse with the younger Djunkgao sister.

C. The Ring of Women Covered by their Mats

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1. The men kingfishers come into the main camp, dance around the women and children hidden under ainmaras, and thrust their spears in among them.
2. The totemic poles are placed in the mud of the clan well.

1. The men dance painted kingfisher, holding a spear in each hand. This dance leads them out to the main camp.

The women and boys are gathered in a ring and hidden under ainmaras. The men use their spears (representing yam sticks) as canes and walk along in a line, one behind the other, while the leader sings and beats his bilmal (singing sticks). They dance around and around the circle of women and uninitiated. The leader calls out, "Where was this woman born?" and someone answers the name of

796 535 her totem well. "And where was this one born?" and someone answers the name of a well close to the ocean, or that this one was born in a bush well at such and such a place, until all the women's birthplaces (totem wells) have been asked for and the answer given. The leader, as each well is named, calls out the names of the old Wongar yolno men who belonged to and are part of these totemic clan wells.

The dancers continue moving around the circle of women. The leader calls out the sacred names of the yam sticks represented by the men's spears. The men then thrust them into the circle of women, while the women wiggle their buttocks back and forth under their ainmaras.

The men dance around the women in two lines, one going one way and one the other.

After the leader has "called up" the yam stick, he follows it with the power name of ainmara. The men dance this, the women still lying under the ainmaras. The leader next calls out the power name of semen. After that he calls up the ranga marikmo for the various wells. The wells and ancestors are divided according to whether they are supposed to "belong to the ocean cycle of songs or the land cycle." The women get up. The leader changes the beat of his sticks from a slow rhythm to a kind of rapid syncopation. The women still stay in the ring.

796 2. This section of the ceremony now ends, unless it is decided to enter the ocean for ceremonial bathing. Instead of proceeding to the water, as is done when the ceremony is not a Duni, the men usually call out water; the crowd disperses and the people return to their various clan countries. The leader says at this time, "All you men go look for red parrots and make a big supply of feather string. By and by, after the rain, we will start again. We will wait for next time until the palm food is ready." The various wooden emblems are placed in the mud of the clan wells for later use.

This part of the ceremony has taken a month, perhaps two or three months, since the dances are repeated over and over on the men's totemic ground before the men go out into the main camp to perform the final rite with the women.

796 113 *Native Interpretation.*—The lines of men who dance into the camp to the ring of women and boys are supposed to be the crowd of Wongar yolno who came up when the old man incestuously "raped" the younger Djunkgao sister. They are also the two Djunkgao sisters

for sexual intercourse." This explicitly states the relationship of their 796
feeling toward modern man's activities and toward the activities of 773
the old Wongar men.

D. Sea Tides and Flood Waters Are Danced

1. The tides of the ocean and the floods are danced; certain birds 796
and animals are included.

1. The following dry season word comes in from the various clan [202]
groups that they have red parrot string ready. The leader then sends out word that a Narra ceremony can be held. The messengers are decorated with red parrot feather armlets and may carry a miniature
Dua totemic emblem carefully wrapped in paper bark. The ceremony [616]
can take place in either a Yiritja or a Dua camp ground, even though the performance is Dua. This statement is true with the possible exception of the Gwiyula clan; they seem to have a strong feeling that their ceremony ought to be held at their own well. Yiritja men can dance with Dua men.

The men and women of the various clans arrive and bring the parrot feathers or parrot feather string they have accumulated during the year. Ideally, many rangas should be made, including, in addition to the others named earlier in this chapter, fire, basket, labia minora, and the other totemic emblems that belong to the clans of the Dua moiety. The rangas that were made the year before are taken out of the mud, washed, painted with red ocher, and the parrot string put on them. The men paint their bodies and faces with red ocher. White clay is put on their bangles. It takes several days to prepare the totemic emblems properly. While the men are engaged in these preparations, the women have been industriously collecting lily bulbs, palm nuts and yams to supply the men with food for the period of the ceremony. Some of the men carry food from the various camps to the Narra ground. This dance ground is the same as the small quadrangle used in the Duni, except that the borders are made with heaped-up earth.

The first dance is spring flood water. The line of men dance back 796
and forth, following the leader or calling out, "Ai—e!! Ai—e!!" which 535
is the water coming down; when they turn and retrace their steps they call out, "Um—um ye," which is the tide returning. They next dance the ocean. The leader calls out, "Let! Let!" and when the dancers turn, "R-R-R-irt!! R-R-R-irt!!" the cries of the red parrot from the tree tops.

796 535 The leader again sings out, "Ai—e! ! Ai—e! !" and when the dancers turn, "Um—um ye! !" and then, "Mo-mu-tun [the roar of the sea], yam-ber-wong-a [the stir of the sea water when the wave breaks], burl-ol-lum [pools of boiling sea water following the break of the wave], ma-rai-ma-ra-yun [the wash of the waves covering the sand beach]," and finally again, "Um—um ye [the tide returned from the ocean]," and "Ben-bur [conventional ending to a song and dance sequence]."

Iguana is now danced. The leader sings out, "Gun-bor gun-bor [conventional announcement in the Dua Narra that the sacred name of a totem is to be called; it means nothing, according to the natives, but the two Djunkgao women sang it in their time], Djun-dum-a-la [the iguana], Gun-bor gun-bor man-ni-mur-a, Gun-bor gun-bor kui-pi-di [iguana power names]." The chorus of dancers moves to the back of the dance ground, and a solo dancer comes out of the crowd and dances to the front, arms raised sideward, elbows bent. He is an iguana. The red parrot, represented by one of the dancers, listens while the iguanas call out. He thinks it is a man making that noise and he is afraid.

796 535 713 *Native Interpretation.*—One of the native interpretations of the various dancing of water for the Narra ceremonies is: "We dance water for the Narra because it brought those two women on those paper-bark rafts. They pulled those rafts with yam sticks for paddles. We dance the water when it is all the same as the tide going out and then coming back again. We dance the sea making a roar, and we dance the way water does when the waves stop, and the pools of boiling sea water, and the waves coming on the sand beach when those two old women came. When those two old women got ashore they heard a parrot and went farther and found iguana and danced it and a Wongar iguana danced too. That's why we dance iguana now." The parrot cries symbolize the red parrot watching the two women walking along the beach.

796 E. THE CEREMONY AROUND THE TREE IN THE WOMEN'S CAMP

1. The women gather around a tree in their own camp. The men march in and the women run away. The sacred names of different clan wells are called out.

1. After dancing water, the men go to the main camp; they march in single file, beating their spears with their spear-throwers. They are Wongar yolno.

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Before they arrive, the women have left their separate camps and gathered around a tree. They sing out in answer to the men as the men come on. The leader calls out the big name of a catfish, "ka-pi-la." When the sacred name of the catfish is said, the women run away. This name is also supposed to represent the well of a clan which is supposed to be far in the interior, possibly near the upper waters of the Roper River (Ba-rel-ku country). The women return and gather around the tree. The leader climbs the tree and calls out the power names of the well where the women first came on shore and the names of all the old Wongar men who lived in that well. He beats his singing sticks very rapidly and then comes down. He sings out caterpillar (the edible variety). The women dance with their elbows flexed and shake their bodies in a syncopated rhythm. The leader calls out the name of another well and once more the name of the catfish, while the men put their baskets in their mouths and bite them. Two men with their hands clasped behind them then walk with long deliberate steps, much in the manner of the military goose step of the parade grounds. They dance a short distance to the right, then turn on their heels and retrace their steps. While they move back and forth they and the chorus sing out, "R-R-R-T-wa! ! ! R-R-R-T-wa! !" which is supposed to be the call of the white duck, the bird they are dancing. They are succeeded by pairs of dancers until all have gone through this performance, which finishes the ceremony for the night.

Early every morning and again in the evening this performance (Section E), from beginning to end, is repeated for possibly two or three months. The morning ceremony is performed before breakfast and the evening ceremony is held at twilight, before the evening meal. The only variations occur in the order of the sacred names of wells called out. The entire cycle of Dua totem wells is called out at one time. At times some of the well names are repeated. Only the power names of the Dua wells are said during the Dua Narra, but it is felt that it is imperative to call every one of them. It is highly possible that many of the wells which are supposed to be found in the extreme interior are not real.

On the final day the last well dance is performed in the *middle* of the day. That night the men go to the Narra ground and light bushes and paper bark and carry them to the main camp. The men sing "benbur." After the fire the ranga string can be given to the Yiritja in trade. Some of the men say, "Are we going to put these [strings] in the mud again?"

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a ceremony without dropping into the mythological reasons for doing 796
it. 773

"All those Dua wells are danced because those two women put their dilly bags and ranga string in their [large string] bags and they went out to look for shellfish and they went inside the mangrove. Those Wongar yolno they went and stole that dilly bag and yam sticks and ranga string and they took it away. Those yolno burned the grass around that basket so those two women could see that fire and think their camp fire had burned over and burned up that basket. When the two women came back they said, 'It's no one's fault but our own. Our fire did it.' Each sister quarreled with the other for the burning of the red parrot feather and string.

"They took their own baskets from their heads. They think about the way they had done before and were sorry they hadn't put their other baskets in a clean place. They heard the sound of singing sticks from inside the jungle. They knew then that Wongar yolno had stolen their baskets and ranga string. They thought first they would go and take it away from them. They ran with that basket. They came close and saw the men were singing the Nurra song. They thought, 'It is no good now, we must work. We must get food for the men.' "[8]

"The meaning on that basket is when young people sneak up now and play with mielks they do that like old yolno did. We people do wrong the same way. We must clean him up the same way."

One man who had had missionary training said of this part of the ceremony, "It is just the same as the Heaven people do wrong when God say, 'no more touch that tucker[9] on that tree,' and they do anyway."

F. The Ring of Women Repeated (See Section C)

In the morning all the men shave and leave only the small "Van 796
Dyke" beards. "They shave because they are taking the string off 302
those rangas and selling it to the Yiritja." The same thing is done, however, if the string is sold to the relatives who belong to their own moiety.

After the men have shaved there may or may not be a dance, 796
usually not. All the ceremonies are put off until the next day, when 535
wallaby and kingfisher are danced. At the last dance the kingfishers enter into the main camp for the first time. They behave much as

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[8] This and the foregoing paragraph offer a conspicuous example of how the native, in attempting to explain the ritual, draws on the myth.

[9] Food: Australian-white term.

796 535 they did in the first ceremony. They walk with spears in their hands, which, at the moment, symbolizes the yam sticks of the two Djunkgao sisters. They continue until they come to the ring of women, as described in the duni or red-ocher part of the ceremony. The kingfishers also represent the modern Murngin man looking for food and sexual intercourse. In a way, too, they are Wongar yolno. After the kingfishers have performed a dance around the women they thrust the short spears among the group to symbolize the Wongar yolno's original breaking of taboo against sexual relations with women of one's own group; then they return to the men's ceremonial ground.

G. The Brush Turkey Totem Is Danced and Displayed

1. The totem emblem of a turkey is danced in the Narra ground.
2. The initiates are shown the totem.

[302] 1. Some distance back from the men's dance ground, groups of men have been painting themselves like turkeys. They represent the brush turkey totem. Fires are built all around the men just as fires are built on the plains when turkeys are hunted. The turkeys dance through the fires while an old man beats the singing sticks and leads them toward the men's dance ground. They carry the totem. One man dances a pantomime of a brush turkey out in the plains.

796 561 784 852 2. Small boys are put at the head of the dance ground and are shown the various lower age-grade types of totems by the old men (see list of totems, pages 39-51). They cannot see the ones that belong to higher age grades. After they have looked upon the totems which have been strongly taboo to them until this time, they must eat only bush food until after they are painted and have made presents to the leader. Looking at the totem serves as an initiation rite. After the boys have seen the totems, all the men dance once more to the main camp, where again the kingfisher ceremony is gone through with the women under their ainmaras.

796 113 *Native Interpretation.*—"When the turkeys come in, that means by and by the Yiritja are coming up. Those fires are built all around. This is all the same as making a fire in the plain by those Wongar men. When Wongar men built the fires those Wongar turkeys came up too and looked."

796 H. The Men and Women Bathe Ceremonially

1. All the men, women, and children enter the sea and wash themselves.

1. When this is completed the women and children all run into

the ocean, preceded by the flatfish and catfish whose songs are being 796
sung. A small bundle of paper bark is constructed. It represents a
catfish. It is hit rhythmically against the ground while the groups of
men dance the black goose dance.

On the seashore or river bank, according to where the ceremony is 796
being held, two men come out of the chorus of geese (Dua) and dance 535
black duck (Yiritja). The black ducks dance into the water first and
stir it up. The geese (the rest of the men) follow. When the ducks
enter the water they call out the names of the black duck ranga
wells. All the men, women and children wash themselves. Two rings
are formed out in the water.—These dances are danced only when
the tide is in, for the practical reason that the dancers do not want
to walk out on the long mud flats.

After they come out of the water the men dance the two fish songs again, two men at a time, chasing each other and moving back and forth across the beach.

Native Interpretation.—The men dancing catfish on their way 796
down to the water, followed by the women, are supposed to symbolize 535
the two Djunkgao women going down to the ocean after the illegal 173
intercourse of one with the yolno man. A superficial interpretation or
rationalization of this behavior is that "when that catfish came out and
went into the water it was all the same as those two Djunkgao mielk
following the fish and trying to catch them in the ocean. It's all the
same too for that flatfish. Those people are all the same as goose trying
to catch that catfish."

"Duck goes into the water first, he makes the water dirty and goose
follows. That black duck belong Yiritja well and he sings out the
name of that well. This is all the same as in a billibong. We always [825]
see black duck go in and make the water dirty and goose comes
behind." (This refers to the seasonal appearance of the black duck
before the geese in the fresh-water lakes in the area.)

"When we wash, that means we're taking that semen off those women and making ourselves clean, and that means too the Narra is close up to finish. That white clay on the women means before this world only ocean, rain fall down and make foam, that makes this land. That white stuff goes from inside the bush, too, all the way to the Crocodile Islands."

"*Dua* people make rangas because Wongar yolnos and those two mielks did wrong a long time ago. It's all the same as two Dua play with each other now. It was a guratu [kinship] wrong. That Wongar

796 yolno and mielk went to swim in the sea and made themselves clean
535 and they cut out that wrong. That's why we dance the same way now to cut out that wrong."

173 The thinking here shows that both the Yiritja and the Dua use the same symbols, but the Dua identify the white paint with uncleanliness and the Yiritja identify it with foam.

796 I. THE TOTEMS ARE SHOWN TO THE YOUNG MEN

884 1. The lower totems are shown the youths by lines of dancing men.

535 1. The women give the men palm food so that the leader can feed all the men. He informs the men that they will wait to eat until they go back inside the men's ceremonial ground. They return to the dance ground and once more take their totemic emblems out of the "bush house" or from the hollow trees used as a hiding place. All the men stick red parrot feathers on their chins with honeybees' wax. Red ocher is painted on the face. The leader says, "Are you prepared now?"

"Yes," they say.

"Are all the totemic emblems here?"

"Yes; what are we going to do now?"

"Let the young men who have beards and moustaches move."

Everything is very quiet now and there is no laughter. There must not be any laughter. A bird called a djunmal (possibly a curlew) is danced by one of the men in the Narra dance ground. He represents the tide coming in. Another bird called the ka-url-dal-por-al (a variety of the kingfisher) dances with him. The djunmal climbs a tree and the kookaburra (kingfisher) another nearby. The djunmal emits the cry of this bird, which means that the tide is coming in; the natives believe the djunmal sings just before the tide comes in. A line of old men dance forward. Their backs and necks are bowed; their eyes look down to the upturned palms of their two hands, in which they carry their totemic emblems. The kookaburra now sings that the tide is going out, when the men turn and retrace their steps. Thus the old men dance back and forth, as the tide is high and then low, high and then low, while the two birds sing alternately with the dancers' change of direction.

796 *Native Interpretation.*—The Dua Narra rangas were all brought by
173 the Djunkgao women. The Yiritja rangas have the integrating factor of the spring floods and tides. "All the Yiritja rangas were brought by the flood and tides. The big rain made that big flood."

(The beards, too, emphasize the manliness of the young men in an age-grade sense. Their beards demonstrate their belonging to the mature men's age grade. The red parrot feather decoration on the beards helps to ritualize this symbol of manliness.) 796 773

J. The Higher Totems Are Shown the Older Men 796 535

1. The old men leave the young men and show their higher totems to each other.

1. Following the ceremony of showing the totems to the older young men, who represent an age-grade stratum of the male division of the tribe higher than the recently initiated boys, iguana is repeated; then follows the sea-water dance which has been described, and finally iguana, with the usual conventional ending of "benbur benbur." 561

Only the older men see the higher rangas. The young men are left and the older men go inside the bush to look at the rangas which only they are allowed to see. The string is taken off all the totemic emblems at this time. This string is presented to members of the opposite moiety, or very frequently, as has been said before, kutara gives it to mari and mari to kutara (they are of the same moiety) as a demonstration of the solidarity of their relationship. If people who are somewhat distant, therefore a bit strange, ask for this ranga string, it arouses a considerable feeling of antagonism in the owner. It is usually said, "Have people lost their heads? Can't they think? We will just give them ordinary food later. We won't give them string." —"If they are very good friends we can give them food, but the food is not given a power name." 796 561 431 616

K. The Eating of the Sacred Bread, and Conclusion of the Ceremony 796 778 574

1. The bread is eaten by those of near kin.
2. The string is removed from the emblems and the neophytes are instructed.

1. The leader sings over the palm bread (or yams) which is put in the ashes and cooked. He calls out the totem names of the various rangas (kookaburra, banitja, etc.). This is supposed to infuse the bread with the power names of the rangas and make it "just the same as a ranga," which means that the totemic spirit resides within the bread. Only the men who understand can eat this, which means only the men who are near relations and who have been initiated.

The Murngin always eat in this way after all ceremonies. To outside tribes the people say, "This is maraiin that belongs to the Narra,"

(here Sections A, B, and C) frequently is given first, not only because 796
of lack of materials, as was stated for the Dua Narra ceremony, but also because it is felt that it makes the log "stronger" and better. Various people arrive; they bring balls of opossum fur and string. Opossum fur is a decorative material used for Yiritja ritual and [237]
symbolizing this moiety just as red parrot feathers are the materials for decorating Dua ceremonial objects.

The same preparations are made for carving and painting the 796
totemic emblem; "flood" from the totemic wells flowing to the sea 535
and "ocean tides coming in" are danced on the Narra grounds which have been made on the old men's grounds. Instead of dancing red parrot and water, the Yiritja dance bandicoot and water. Flood water is danced back and forth on the small quadrangle, then the leader calls out:

> "Bir-ka bir-ka (conventional Yiritja announcement of Narra power words) djar-a (spring water)
> Bir-ka bir-ka mill-yar-ui (tree growing out of a spring)
> Bir-ka bir-ka ga-urn ga-urn (gravel boiling in spring water)
> Bir-ka bir-ka ka-ku-lor-oi (small rocks in the bottom of a spring)
> Bir-ka bir-ka kar-a-ko-ar-oi (a small valley where the water runs)."

Once more the sound of water is repeated and a new dance is started. The leader calls out the power names of bandicoot. All the chorus gets down on its knees and elbows while the leader sings out, "Gorn-djur-djur [bandicoot] yer-mer-da [bandicoot]." The bandicoot always follows water in the Yiritja ceremony, after which the men return to the general camp. As they march along in single file, the leader walking to one side, they call out "Kar-ra-ark! Ye!" This is supposed to be the name of the tree which the leader usually climbs when he calls out the power names in the main camp. It also lets the women know that they must run and be gathered at the tree when the men arrive.

When the men arrive in the main camp and approach the tree the 796
women run away from it and return to their huts. The leader runs straight toward the tree and points at it with his singing stick while he calls out its power name. Any convenient tree is picked for this purpose and it can be of any species, providing it is large enough for the leader to climb when the occasion arrives.

796 773 *Native Interpretation.*—The natives make a clear distinction between the Yiritja and the Dua Narra rites, but basically they are exactly the same. The formulae at the end of the songs in the Yiritja and Dua are different, and other formalized elements have slight variations; but in the fundamentals the structures of the two ceremonies are very similar, and the interpretations given are much the same. Because the two Djunkgao sisters were supposed to be Dua, there is a feeling that the Yiritja ceremony is associated with the floods and not with the women.

● [535] The natives say they dance bandicoot right after water because he comes out of the bush first after the rain time, scratching small holes to look for food.

The women run away from the tree, say the natives, because the two old sisters ran in their time when the men approached them.

796 B. THE MEN DANCE WITH THE CARVED WOOD OF THE TOTEMIC EMBLEMS

1. The men shave themselves as in the Dua Narra.
2. The quail and fire dances are performed.
3. The totems are shown and the totemic bread eaten.
4. The women paint and the men go to the men's ground.

[302] 1. The men shave, leaving only the small "Van Dyke," putting heated honeybee wax on the beard and pulling it out. The leader then calls out the power name of Banitja (see list of totems, pages 34-48), one of the more important Yiritja totems:

"Bir-ka bir-ka banitja
Bir-ka bir-ka djir-lir-war-a (barrimundi)."

796 535 2. Following this song, the leader and the chorus dance quail (djerkit). The quail is supposed to be the leader for fire and is therefore the leader for shaving with hot wax. After this dance the people become inquisitive and want to know what will be next. "What will we do?" they say. "Shall we tie our opossum string to our totemic emblems? What will we do?"

The leader says, "No, we will leave them."

796 533 3. While the totemic bread is being eaten and sung over in the men's ground, the totemic emblems are painted, the same procedure gone through, and the same attitudes taken as in the Dua Narra. The leader sings the water cycle of songs, with bandicoot taking the prominent lead. A totemic well next is sung, then mud and man-

grove fish are called out. The last is a variety of borer found in the trunks of mangrove trees and is Yiritja. The totemic emblem is then painted with yellow lines representing the totems. 796 533

4. The leader directs that red ocher and white clay be sent to the main camp. One or more old men have been left in this camp to look out for the women and children. The old men direct the women while they paint. The women paint themselves to represent barrimundi and albatross (marn-ba), creatures associated with the sea tides and not the flood. 796 [302]

Native Interpretation.—The association of quail with fire is interpreted by the Murngin: "Quail is the boss for fire and Narra time. We call out that one when it is time to light the fires and we carry his ranga. Quail has a ranga and he is in the Narra ceremony." The quail in Wongar days, according to myth, threw some fire about and burned his feathers. Further, the quail is usually found in the low brush when it is fired during the burning season. 796 733

C. They Dance Around the Ring of Women 796

1. The same general outline of dancing is followed as in the Dua Narra; different animals and birds appear. 535
2. The totems are placed in the clan wells.

1. The men leave the ceremonial grounds and go to the main camp, calling out the big name of white clay:

"Bir-ka bir-ka bu-lor-mar-mar (white clay)
Bir-ka bir-ka gar-wa-wa (yellow paint stone)
Birka-bir-ka mar-ku-la (white bubbles caused by barrimundi biting at fish)."

When they arrive near the camp, leader and chorus sing "birka birka marnba [a sea bird]." Near the entrance to the camp two men dance marnba. One dances to the right, the other to the left. They both turn at the same time, retrace their steps, pass each other, repeat the figure a number of times, and then dance around the ring and are surrounded by the chorus.

The women by now are fully painted.

After dancing the marnba the men dance barrimundi and follow this with Yiritja honeybee. They then form a long file. An old man meanwhile has gathered the women into a ring. They are under their ainmaras. The men, with the spears in their hands, dance around the women. They are supposed to be dancing garrawark and sea foam

796 made by barrimundi. The leader sings out the names of their totemic
535 wells. He calls out first water and then a bangle made from the grass surrounding the well. When the bangle is called out, all the women get up at one time. All the people then go into the ocean by clans as the men call out water. The bathing ceremony can be postponed until the next year. The men and women return to their separate camps.

796 2. All the visitors put their totemic emblems in the mud of the totemic wells so that the women and uninitiated cannot see them; they all then leave for their homes. The leader appoints a man to see that all the rangas are properly taken care of and are not disturbed. The Duni is over. During the Duni a true Narra ceremonial ground is not constructed. This has a formal outline and is made only for the larger Narra ceremony.

796 *Native Interpretation.*—Although the same general outline is followed in this part of the Yiritja ceremony as in the Dua, the inter-
113 pretations are not directly connected with the myth of the Djunkgao sisters, but are associated with Yiritja creatures, such as garrawark and other totems of this moiety, who have mythological stories attached to them. These myths have not been included with the Djunkgao myth because they fall more directly into the category of local organization stories (see Appendix VIII).

The white clay on the women, according to my informants, who were the leaders of a number of Narra ceremonies that I witnessed, means, "Before this world there was only the ocean. The rain fell down and made the foam. That made some of this land. That white stuff (foam) went from the Warumeri country to the Crocodile Islands. Garrawark, the great Yiritja totem, floated in on this and made Yiritja camps by sticking his horns in the land and splitting the ground and making wells and creeks. He named these places, too; he gave them their power names. We make our rangas from that. Dua people make their rangas because that Wongar yolno and those two sisters did wrong. It was just the same as two Dua having sexual intercourse. It was a guratu [a patrilineal line of relatives] wrong. That Wongar yolno and that small Djunkgao sister went into the ocean and swam and washed themselves and made themselves 'clean' and cut out that wrong from themselves. The Dua dance that way today and do the same thing for themselves. Our Yiritja Narra is different, but all the same." (See also page 354.)

796 202 younger brother as a messenger to all the surrounding clans to announce the beginning of the true Narra ceremony. This messenger should be decorated with bangles which have streamers of opossum fur on them, but he is not always. One or two miniature garrawark totems covered with bark are made to serve as message sticks. The leader says, "You take this small ranga to all the people [Dua and Yiritja] and tell them we are going to start now. If people make trouble for you, show them this ranga, and they won't fight you or hurt you, because you are a messenger man."

796 The visitors begin to arrive before the messenger returns. Some distance from the camp, they call out rain cloud; when they are near, rain; then finally, flood water. They approach the camp in groups, singing "Ka-wa!" to announce their coming ceremonially. They call out the sound of well water running in the creek as they go to the leader in the main camp. They make a ring around the tree from which the leader of the Narra calls the power names (see page 357). The leader of each group of visitors climbs it and calls out the names of the visitors' clans.

● [535] After a chorus has joined with two men in a crocodile dance, the men leave the main ground and go into the men's dance ground. They take a vegetable food with them. Each crowd of visitors goes through the same ceremony on its arrival.

After the first few visitors have appeared, the men start putting feathered string on their totemic emblems. The leader walks around among the groups and instructs them how to make the various emblems. Some people make Banitja, some Barrimundi. The Warumeri people, if they are there, will make dugong rib, garrawark, crayfish, dorsal fin of the whale, tail of the whale, as well as the other rangas named above. The Wangurri would do likewise. The Ritarngo do not have the garrawark, but in its place they make the black duck ranga.

796 535 The Narra dance ground is now constructed (or may have been constructed earlier) with heaped up earth to define its limits. The leader starts the bandicoot and water dance. If the dancers have rangas from the sea-way cycle of songs, they dance back and forth: they drag their spear-throwers on the ground, utter no sound, and run up and down the dance ground until they are almost exhausted. (This is the tide coming in and going out for a great distance.) The leader sings out: "Sis!! Sis!! Sis!!" This is the wind coming up. He

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waves his mangel (spear-thrower) in the air: The water is coming higher and higher. The leader calls out:

"Bir-ka bir-ka man-bing-a (power name of water)
Bir-ka bir-ka kir-kir (foam)"

and continues through the waters' names of the Dua Narra (see page 357).

The leader and chorus then cry "Ye! A—Ah—O! Waw! [the tide coming in hard and the waves breaking], Um-um-um [water coming back]." Following this, the leader calls out the power names for crowds (see page 369), and the chorus replies: "A—Ah—Aah—Waw-waw-um-um-um," which is the tide coming back again. They are dancing with great rapidity back and forth across the dance ground. They wave their mangels on the ground to indicate a very heavy sea. The leader then calls out the power name of the diamond fish:

"Bir-ka bir-ka brin-ga-ye!"

All the chorus fall on their hands and knees and squat down, each individual beating the ground with his mangel, singing "Main-muk, main-muk," literally "good," but supposed to represent sheet lightning, which comes at the end of rain in the wet season.

Still sitting, the chorus hold hands and, while moving the trunks of their bodies forward and back slightly, swing arms back and forth in front of them. This is representative of the swimming of the diamond fish who is a Yiritja totem but does not have a totemic emblem made for him. He is supposed to have had one in the old days. His totem well was the sea, and his closest associate was the whale, who sometimes stands as a symbol of the sea. After this dance has been completed the men leave the Narra grounds and return to the main camp.

They call out "Kar-ra-ark Ye!" until they enter the camp of the women. The women have heard them coming and prepared themselves by gathering about the tree, as described on page 357; they run away when the men draw near. The leader of the ceremony climbs the tree and calls out the name of Wongar men who live in far-off places but who are not true yolno, then descends and calls out the power names again, and the chorus answers. Two, and possibly four, men now dance salt-water crocodile, who is Yiritja. If there are four men dancing, pairs stand abreast facing each other. They carry their knees high and move their elbows up and down while they dance

796 back and forth, passing each other, turning, retracing their steps, repeating the figure a number of times. The pairs then dance with their 535 heads together. It is a most intricate and difficult dance to learn, and is supposed to represent crocodiles swimming under water with only their nostrils thrust above the surface. This finishes the dancing for the evening.

796 The whole cycle of Yiritja wells is then called out, morning and night, until all the totem wells have been completed. Usually only one well is called out each night, although at times the names of two wells are sung by the leader and chorus. The totem well of the clan that is giving the ceremony comes last.

E. THE MEN DANCE INTO THE WOMEN'S CAMP

796 1. The men go through the camp looking for food and bring the gathered food back to the leader and old men.

302 2. When it is almost time for a ceremony to end, the leader picks out a group of men and says, "You paint yourselves as bandicoots and water for the sea-way," and to others, "You paint whale," and to still others, "You paint jungle fowl." The men who paint themselves as jungle fowl put circular symbols all over their bodies to represent the egg. The circles are connected with straight lines which are supposed to be long string-like beans from a tree I was unable to identify. While the men are painting on the Narra grounds, five or six younger men who already have been painted as bandicoot come out into the camp. This is the way Banitja, the great totem, did in the old Wongar days. He came out looking for food because he had smelled it cooking. They have, in addition, yellow lines for the barrimundi, and white dots which represent the foam made by barrimundi biting at something. Others, supposed to be banitjas, may be painted as Yiritja honeybees, because Banitja came from the Koparpingu country, which has a honeybee totem.

796 When the dancers have come about halfway from the men's totem grounds the leader stops them and calls out:

"Bir-ka bir-ka bur-lum-bul (foam)
Bir-ka bir-ka ko-wa-wa (yellow paint)
Bir-ka bir-ka mar-ku-la (red and yellow paint)."

They then all dance into the camp, calling out, "Kar-ra-ark Ye!" They go from hut to hut as though looking for something. They are

supposed to be Banitja looking for food. The women get up and give 796
them some palm-food bread or yam bread which they have prepared. They also can give fish or honey. If the men received nothing from the women they would become very angry, and pick up their spears and threaten them. The women always give because, say the informants, they see this Banitja painted on the men.

After the men have made the circle of the camp they return to the dance ground. They do not eat the food they have been given, for they are young men. They take it to the older men who belong to a higher division in the men's group. If the young men should eat this food they would turn into old men immediately.

Certain totemic dances are danced and the leader then instructs all [531
the men to shave, leaving only the small tuft of hair at the point of 302]
the chin. While everyone shaves, the leader calls out:

"Bir-ka bir-ka rao rao (power name for opossum string)."

The opossum string is put on the chin with hot honeybee wax. The strings are supposed to represent the white flowers of the lily. The above power name of the opossum string signifies to the dancers that the leader has chosen the land-way cycle of songs. If the leader had chosen the sea-way he would have called out the power name of the whale:

"Bir-ka bir-ka bul-tung-o, bir-ka bir-ka ma-rain-dji bi-lain-dji."

F. The Whale Dance

The leader and chorus dance water on the Narra ground as 796
described in earlier sections. Bandicoot is also danced, and then the 535
sea-way is followed through (diamond fish, waves, et cetera). No one talks then; everything is quiet. There can be no laughter. The men walk up and down the dance ground slowly and attempt to keep very still. This is supposed to be the sea water and the slow rising of the tides. The chorus splits into two groups. They stand at each side of the Narra dance grounds. They are all whales. Two men who have painted themselves like whales stand at each end of the Narra dance ground. The leader is in the middle of the ground. The leader walks up to and marches in front of one group of the chorus and stamps his foot, then turns and walks to the other group and stamps his foot. This is the way a man stamps his foot when he hits a whale with his paddle. After this, the leader covers with ainmaras the two men

796 535 painted to represent whales. He then stamps his foot in front of each. As he does this the men move beneath the ainmaras. They are supposed to represent a whale diving under the sea. The men shrug their shoulders to look like the back of the whale as he goes beneath the water. The "whales" also move their hands back and forth to imitate the movement of the fins of the whale. The leader and the two whales repeat their figure of the dance a number of times. The leader then calls out the power names of the whale, wi-ma-ri and nul-lan-dji. One whale then gets up and sits on top of the other. This means that the whales are copulating. Those Wongar whales did that in the old days. (The dugong totem dance, which may be substituted for the whale, is conducted in the same way.)

Once more the leader and chorus dance slow water, keeping as silent as possible. The tide is coming in. Finally the tide is supposed to reach Truant Island. The men sing "Um-wa-um-wa." The water is coming slowly up on the beach. (A Wongar yolno is coming in on the tide. He reaches the island and startles the jungle fowl. He hears a jungle fowl sing out when he gets on shore with his paddle.)

The chorus sits down and the leader calls out:

> "Bir-ka bir-ka ka-djirk-ker-ak (the call of the jungle fowl)
> Bir-ka bir-ka bun-bung-a bun-bung-a (jungle fowl)."

The dancers move their heads slowly about, imitating the jungle fowl listening to the sound of a man or animal in the underbrush below his perch. This part of the dance is repeated a number of times.

796 535 773 *Native Interpretation.*—When the leader sings out the power name of the whale, as well as those of all the other creatures, animals, men, plants, and the general phenomena of nature, it is, say the leaders of the ceremonies, as though they were asking for something. "That Wongar whale can hear. He is all the same as the head of the clan for all those whales. If we go to the salt water and we are a long way out and a whale comes along, we can take sweat from under our arms and put our hands in the water, and we can put that water in our mouths and sing out the power names of that whale. It is just the same as if we were asking him for something. Our old Wongar mari and marikmo and gatu hear that and they go to that whale and turn him and keep us from harm. It is all the same as if we say to that Wongar whale, 'Don't hurt me.' That whale takes Warumeri dead men on his back to the Island of the Dead. Porpoise takes Dua men. We do

We do not eat the whale because his food is not good. If one floats up on the seashore we use his ribs for rangas." [2-62] 796

"When the dancers shrug their shoulders in the whale dance it 173 means those whales [who are diving] are copulating. That's the way 535 those Wongar whales did. Dugongs do the same way too."

"That jungle fowl belonged to the Wongar yolno who owned that house. He was a true jungle fowl when he was in Wongar days."—"He was not a man at this time, but a bird."

G. The Ring-of-women Dance Is Repeated (See Sections C and F) 796

After this the leader says, "We will all go out to the main camp 535 now." When the women see them coming they gather in a circle and squat beneath their ainmaras. The men dancers walk, pulling their spear-throwers after them. They are calling out the power name of water and are supposed to be dancing it. Near the camp, they call out once more the name of water, and then the leader sings out power names of cloud, barrimundi, and the albatross. When they reach the women, two men who are albatross walk around the ring.

The leader calls out barrimundi. The chorus, who are standing, jump in the air in imitation of the barrimundi leaping out of the water, and then, while holding their spear-throwers, dance around the ring of women. The men form two lines, a flood group and a sea-tide group. While dancing around the women they pull their spear-throwers along the ground as before, to symbolize a low tide, then raise their spear-throwers, which means the tide is growing higher, until finally it has reached full water. The leader says now, "We'll awaken these women."

When the dancers come they are the same as fresh water and they push the bream out into the ocean. The leader then calls up rain water running in floods down the creeks, and he runs around the ring. He then calls out bangles and the grass from which they are made, found near the totem wells. (See the first account in the duni version, page 360.)

Native Interpretation.—"The albatross flies around and around a 796 canoe when it is out at sea or when it sees anything there on the 173 ocean."

The women are the two Djunkgao sisters but they are also bream fish, for when the bream had come a long way he lay down, using an ainmara because he was tired. When the leader says, "We'll awaken these women," the reference is to the sleep of the two Djunkgao sisters.

H. The Men, Women and Children Bathe Ceremonially

796 The women get up. All the men and women, both Yiritja and Du go down to the ocean. When they get close to the water they form into several groups. The division is made on the basis of the well from which the men and women come (i.e., clan).

796 When the groups are near the water the two men who are painted
● 536 as albatross leave the chorus and dance in a circle, one going to the left, the other to the right, while the leader beats his singing sticks. They approach the water, take a little from it in their hands, and throw it upon the people. In this new dance figure the chorus has changed from the bream, which has been swept into the sea by the flood water, and is now a flock of black ducks. When the men throw the water on the others it is supposed to represent the albatross shaking himself and throwing the water from his feathers on the ducks.

The chorus and the two men sit down. All the men are carrying spears. They hold their spears in front of them parallel to the ground. Once again the symbol of the dancers changes, for the spears mean that they are now water, that a heavy rain which has carried sticks and leaves has come down and left them in a line on the beach. Everyone starts moving back and forth: the fresh-water flood has taken the leaves down to the shore and the salt water is carrying them back. The dancers put the spears down: the water leaves all the logs, sticks and other refuse on the shore and the heavy fresh water has receded and left the refuse on the high banks. The leader now calls out the power name for a line of refuse on the beach or on the river bank: "Bir-ka bir-ka ka-lain-dja (a line of leaves, sticks, et cetera, left by fresh or salt water) bir-ka bir-ka rar-kal-noom (water moving this line of brush)." This song is sung while the spears are being put on the ground. The black duck call is once more given:

"Bir-ka bir-ka mu-tal-li (black duck)
Bir-ka bir-ka dirrt-dun (duck paddling with its legs)
Bir-ka bir-ka mar-ka-lai-in (duck flying away)
AA-a-ah!! A-a-ah!! (the tide coming back)
Dirk—Dirk—Wah!!!
Le—le—le (tide bringing stones [ducks' eggs])
Lir-lir-lir (tide coming up and leaving the little stones on the ground)."

796 The leader then again divides the people into two groups: those who belong to the totemic wells connected with the land cycle of songs, and

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those who are supposed to have been born into the sea cycle of totemic wells. All divide further into groups according to the wells to which they belong. All the names of the old men who belong to these wells (mythological people usually) are called out. The leader calls his own marikmo, mari, and similar relatives last. When this is done, all go into the water, one clan at a time. They swim, completely immerse [481] themselves, and wash their faces and bodies. When the leader says "Ka-war!" they stand up. When he calls out "Ka-war!" again they once more swim and wash themselves. The leader takes each crowd and again calls out the names of its grandfathers (patrilineal line). This is continued until he has come to his own well. Everybody returns to the ground where the ring of women were. Four or more men dance [535] the crocodile and another group dances a small fish; these two groups are fresh-water fish and crocodiles going out into the sea.

Native Interpretation.—"That fresh water is carrying sticks and leaves down from the bush and it leaves it in a line [the spears of the men dancers]. When everybody dances back and forth that means that fresh-water flood takes the leaves down to the shore and the salt water carries them back. We put the spears down because that salt water leaves all that log and sticks and leaves on the shore when the heavy flood brings it down when the creeks are high."

The cry of "kawar" is supposed to be the sound made by a duck when it is diving. The people are ducks and they are diving down into their ranga well water. These ducks, say the leaders of the ceremony, are just the same as younger brothers to the wells to which they belong. It means, too, they say, that it is just the same as garrawark or any other Yiritja ranga diving in his well.

I. The Low Totems Are Shown

The leader then says, "We will take all our food that the women have gathered and go into the Narra place. We won't cut our food here, but we will wait and go there." When they arrive at the totemic grounds the men put their opossum string on their beards. The leader then says to certain of the men, "You take the garrawark totemic emblem, and you take barrimundi, but don't bring out any of the high rangas. You must leave them there because those rangas look out for that ground. They are too far down inside the well for the young men to see." Each totemic group brings out its own rangas which belong to the lower order. The Warumeri will bring out the totems listed as

796 crayfish, garrawark, barrimundi, whale and whale rib; but the high rangas, such as black duck's egg and large basket, will not be displayed.

The chorus of men and the leader start dancing again on the Narra 796 dance ground. They dance spring floods and salt water. The old men 535 hold their totemic emblems in front of them in the same way that the Dua do, except that they are supposed to be representing the movement of the fresh-water flood down to the sea and the movement of the sea back again. The young initiates stand in front of them at the [868] head of the Narra grounds. Two men stand beside them and instruct them in the meanings of the dances and of the totems. When the garrawark totem is carried, it is thrust in the ground, and the various totemic wells it is supposed to have formed are named. The leader then calls out the power names of garrawark. He next calls out the power names of spring floods while the men dance back and forth. This is supposed to represent the original fresh-water flood which carried all the totemic emblems down to the sea. The chorus next dances crayfish. Their hands are moved jerkily to imitate its movements. They whisper "E—e—e—." The leader calls out the sacred name of the crayfish.

Native Interpretation.—See Dua Narra.

796 J. THE HIGHER TOTEMS ARE SHOWN (See the Dua Narra).

K. THE SACRED BREAD IS EATEN AND THE CEREMONY CONCLUDED (See the Dua Narra).

The Yiritja Narra is concluded with the eating of the totemic bread in the men's ground after the old men have displayed the higher totems to one another. The boys are admonished to conduct themselves [867] according to the tribal standards, and food taboos are placed upon them. (See the Dua Narra.)

764 ing for turtle eggs. He looks down and finds the nest, puts the eggs in the basket, returns to the shade, and sits down.

533 (13) Ring around the fire (ko-mer-nin-na).
This is a ring of men around a fire. The Wongar yolno has brought in some fire wood and broken it up and made a fire to cook the turtle eggs.

At this place in the ceremony they take the green branches of a tree, put them in the fire, and the men ceremonially brush the smoking branches over the heads and chests of all participants and near relatives of the man who has died. "That spirit of the dead man goes away now. That means the souls of our own people, not our enemies."

(14) The man sits down and goes to sleep, wakes up and goes away.
(15) He takes fire sticks, walks around and puts fire to the grass, which makes a big bush fire. The fire smoke goes up into the heavens, into the clouds. The dancers, while this is going on, dance with fire sticks in their hands.
(16) The Wongar snake in the sky (u-var-ko).
(17) Another large snake (dar-pa).
(18) Caterpillar.
(19) The fire which has been built is in a small basin (symbolic totemic water hole). It is a snake camp.

764
535 On one side are two lines of snake dancers, one Uvarko and the other Darpa. Facing them on the other side of the fire are two lines of caterpillar dancers. (The caterpillars are classed as snakes among the Murngin.) To one side of the fire and between the two lines of dancers are the iguanas. While the snakes and caterpillars dance back and forth beside the fire the iguanas stamp on the fire and put it out. The snakes are supposed to be going to fight, but the extinction of the fire in the totem well by the iguanas means that all the people in this country are one people. Each dancer carries a basket in his mouth to symbolize a fighting man, and each carries a spear shaft or stick and moves it to represent the head of a snake.

764 (20) Hermit crab.
535 The men hold bushes up in front of themselves and hit their chests, keeping time to the rhythm.
533 (21) Blow fly (wor-or-lorl).
The dancers simulate the buzzing of the fly and move their hands back and forth to imitate the vibration of its wings.
(22) A shore bird (por-leur-or).
One of the dancers moves his legs rapidly up and down and

stamps on the ground and flutters his arms up and down to indicate the bird is flying away. 764 535 ●

(23) Morning star (bar-num-bir).
Everyone carries fire sticks. The dancers move back and forth before the leader of the ceremony, moving the fire sticks up and down in the darkness. Moving them up is supposed to represent darkness, and down, daylight. 533

The Morning Star Ceremony.[8]—The morning star ceremony is Dua. The song cycle starts with Barnumbir (morning star): 764 533

Gar-le-in-bui
  East
Yal-main-aoi
  Morning star
Djan-gir-ir
  Morning star
Ma-rang-in
  Morning star

Chorus: Aa-ee kai kai kai kai

Barnumbir yea-a-a

Gar-le-in-bui
  East
Yal-main-aoi
  Morning star
Djan-gir-ir
  Morning star
Ma-rang-in
  Morning star

Chorus: Kai kai kai kai

Yo yo-o-o

If the first song is at night, the men dance with firebrands, and if in the afternoon, with bunches of white cockatoo feathers tied to strings. The leader and chorus stand off at the side. The chorus are supposed to be mokois. [535]

(2) Mokois (gurn-dju-la); the chorus is then repeated.
(3) Mokoi food, a small tuber.
(4) Butterfly (burn-ba).

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[8] The Murngin have a long myth which is associated with the Barnumbir ritual. See Appendix VIII.

"They see these fighting people and they fly up out of the trees, singing out." 764 533

(23) A man and woman looking for lilies.
"They are looking at the black duck in the lily places." This is a reference to the totem of the Warumeri, Wangurri, and Ritarngo Yiritja people.

(24) All the people going down to look for lilies (Yiritja people only).

(25) Mud taken up looking for lilies.

(26) Washing the lilies in the water to remove the mud.

(27) Washing themselves off after the mud has got on them.
This element in the sequence is often used for the ceremonial washing in the symbolic totemic well.

(28) Lilies in a basket.

(29) Walking from the lily place "to go look for a dry place to sit down."

(30) Taking a fire stick and burning the grass (Yiritja grass) to make a place for a camp. The burning leaves may be used to be brushed over the bodies of the mourners.

(31) Grass burning rapidly over the plains—a direct reference to burning the grass to facilitate hunting and to clear the paths, and an indirect reference to the smoke ceremony which chases away not only the mokois but the true soul of the dead.

(32) Rats.
"The rats are on the plain and they are running away from the fire. They are singing and are crying out." The rats have an inner meaning which refers to the souls of the dead leaving.

(33) Words and talk.
"The people are sitting down in the shade now and talking. They are talking about the sun going down."

(34) Spider.
"The spiders come out in the cool when the sun goes down. The spider puts up his web from tree to tree. He takes his string one place and goes to another place."

This ends the sequence of songs. At this point in the ceremony a man comes out and dances in front of the chorus holding his legs very high and moving his hands to imitate a spider spinning a large web. The spider is definitely associated with the soul of the dead. "We sing this way because our older people sang that way. All Yiritja sing that way. Dua sing different when their dead men die. I take my songs from my mari [mother's mother's brother] and my marikmo [father's father]; they [the relatives] are Yiritja." 764 [535]

"We sing for that warro soul and which way he has gone. He walks 764 775

764

Macassar man saying, 'I want to go over that sundown way, my grandfather is there.'" 177

Two men stand over the body, each with one hand over his face and 764
one hand thrust out straight over "the mast." The first two men continue to move the "mast" up and down. Within the circle of relatives [535]
watching the ceremony and part of the center of attention are two other men who dance as though they were pulling on ropes that raise the mast. All the people are very quiet. The singing sticks continue to beat, but they accentuate the general quietness of the group. Two
men in unison say what the natives believe to be a Macassar prayer [177]
(Djel-la-war, Malay term):

"Si-li-la-mo-ha-mo ha-mo-sil-li-li,"
(A native who had been with the Macassars and who understood some English because of recent mission contact said, "This is just the same as amen.")
"Si-li-nai-yu ma-u-lai,"
("They are asking something in the clouds or maybe it is in the moon.")
"Ra-bin-a-la la-ha-ma-ha-ma,"
("They ask again for something from that man god who lives in the moon.")
"Ser-ri ma-kas-si,"
(Save man,)
"Bel-la bel-la,"
(Watch,)
"Daung,"
(Me from that danger thing.)

"The Macassar man sang that when the mast broke or when a man was about to die."

After the two men have prayed in unison, the chorus cries, "Djil-li-le!" There is a repetition of the prayer, and the chorus once more cries, "Djil-li-le!" which is supposed to be the cry of the Macassar sailors when they made the mast stand up straight and it was finally attached to the deck. The last time the Djil-li-le is cried out it is continued with Li-li-li-li, which means that the anchor is up. The singing stick now speeds up its rhythm for the putting of the sail on the mast.
All the people now start a very grotesque fast dance with first one leg [535]
bent at an extreme angle high in the air, and then the other, the arms going through the motion of pulling ropes on a sail. The dancing, all of which is supposed to belong to the Wongar Macassar men, con-

the dirt but the marikmo can pick him out and take him away. The 764
earth is heaped over the body, grass is put on top and, at times, stones. 775
Everyone leaves then and eats his evening meal.

A man is buried by his people so that he will rot and the flesh can 764
be prepared for removal from the bones. The people who bury their dead say they do it so they won't have to see him rot.

(In platform burial the body is placed face upward so that when 764
the abdominal wall breaks the intestines will not fall. The platform is 769
not torn down when a body is removed. It is always avoided thereafter, although the feeling is rather slight about it. Ordinarily women feel a greater sense of taboo about it than men. They always pass by at some little distance because "they are afraid that that mokoi is still there." The men, when they are with the women, sometimes tease them by grunting and coughing like mokois, and laugh when the women jump. The women laugh too, but usually not until later.)

The men then call out the names of the dead male mari and marikmo 764
of the dead man. The groups, singing, quarrel with the people for what they did to the deceased, and the dead ancestors are supposed to blame the living for not taking better care of the dead person when he was
alive. While this singing is going on, the chorus dances with spears [535
and knives to simulate a fight between the living and the dead. Once 533]
more the garma cycle of songs is sung. The people then clap their hands, symbolical of the Macassar drum, and finally the red cloud element in the garma sequence is sung to indicate that the ceremony is over.

The Grave Post.—The next day, or a few days after the burial, the 764
grave post is erected and a mast of a Macassar design is also placed 177
over the grave. Both the grave post and the mast are carried through the camp while a Murngin version of a Macassar prayer is said over it
and the chorus sing a response to the prayer. Food is begged from all 764
the members of the camp who are not participating as near relatives
in the ceremony. All the male relatives of the deceased who are later 302
ceremonially to eat the food in ritual communion, paint themselves. The designs are those of the totem of the man who died, which usually means the totem of all the men engaged in the ceremony except those on the mother's side of the kinship group. When a Warumeri dies, for example, the men paint themselves as whales just as the dead body has been painted and as his totemic emblem and poles are painted. The post also announces to the ancestors that the body is buried beneath it.

and outsiders are then allowed to enter the camp itself. The mother 765
of the dead individual paints herself with red ocher, as does the female
mari of the person. This is to remove the taboo from them so that
they can go out and gather fire wood and water as well as food. Before
that time they must stay in the camp. The mother is not supposed to
paint herself before the grave post is put up. If she does, and puts
water on herself to make the red ocher spread, the body of the dead
person will not decompose but stay firm so that the bones cannot be
painted and properly treated. "The mother that belongs to that dead
man cries every night for him. She cries a long time, maybe until one
rain is over. All the people go back now to take out that dead man.
They take the paper bark off his body. It has a very strong smell. Some
people don't like to see that, but some people have strong hearts. We
keep the young people away and the women do not look."

Exhumation of the Bones.—After a minimum of two or three months
or a maximum of a season the body is exhumed under the direction
of the father or some near relative of the dead man. If it is a child [766]
and has been buried beside the house, the father pulls the house down
and makes a windbreak with it. The women relatives sit on one side
of the windbreak and men on the other. They sit so that the wind
blows between the male and female lines. At the head of the grave a
small fire is built out of wet material so that it will smoke. The smoking
fire, with the aid of a strong wind, prevents the stench from being too
heavy. It is believed that no one should walk through the smoke that [753]
comes from the fires and grave, for the stench of the dead would make
him ill. The fires are lit not only to kill the smell of decaying flesh [372]
but also so that the wind won't blow the odor a great distance, for
it is believed that the stench is consumed by the smoke. The windbreak
acts as a screen in front of the women so that they cannot see what is
taking place. If an adult is being disinterred the screen is placed in
the same way, but the material is not from the house of the parents.
The mokul bapa (father's sister) can and does sit on the side of the
men.

Strips of paper bark are made ready on which to place the bones. The bark is cut into sections. The inside sections of the stringy-bark tree are broken into handfuls of waste with which to clean the bones, and water is brought in large melon shells.

The men sing the garma cycle of songs while the women dance to 765
a monotonous syncopated rapid rhythm: alternately one arm touches 535 ●
the head, and the hand of the other arm is lowered to the abdo-

765 [130] men; the feet are alternately raised toward the opposite knee. The women stop dancing and sit down in a line back of the screen. All start crying, and with stone spears or any sharp instruments they may have in their hands hit their heads to the tempo of the dance. Hitting the head is purely ceremonial in the case of most of the women. The mother and female mari really cry, the mother going into a paroxysm of tears. The mokul bapa also cries and hits herself. The father or some other near relative, while all this is going on, is opening the grave while the chorus of men continues singing. As soon as the body is found in its paper-bark wrapping, an old woman is given a spear-thrower and dances from the line of women to the grave, using the spear-thrower as though it were a paddle, while another woman emerges from the line with a spear by her side, dances toward the open grave and thrusts the spear inside it. This is done twice or oftener. The body is then taken out of the grave and the covering removed. Two of the deceased's dués (father's sister's sons) clean the bones. The father pours the water over the putrid flesh to help cleanse them.

The flesh is taken off the feet first. The skin has turned white. The bones of the feet and then the leg bones are removed. When they come to the ribs the cleaners are particularly careful because they are over the heart; they are kept at times to give as relics to the relatives of the man who has been killed by spear magic. The backbone is removed next, then the lower jaw. The head is taken off and a stick is used to thrust into the occipital opening to clean out the putrid brains. Water is poured inside the skull to wash it out and clean it again. The shoulder and arm bones and hands are then cleaned and put in the paper bark. Some of the relatives prefer to take the finger bones as relics, rather than the rib bones, since they are smaller. The men say, "I want this bone to keep because I want to remember my dead relative. I am going to take this bone. I am going to take this bone because I am going to kill somebody in a little while."

765 835 If the body has not started to rot it is often believed that the father and mother are the cause: they belonged to the same moiety and were incestuous. A man on the border line between two cultures, where the culture pattern was slightly confused, married a woman whom the natives of his tribe considered to be in his own moiety. They used to point to his children and say that their bodies would never rot. Even though the man had changed his own moiety when speaking of himself, it had no effect upon tribal opinion.

765 [302] The bones, after they have been washed, are placed in the paper bark and at the end of the ceremony tied up into a bundle. After the cleansing ceremony is over the father and the two dués paint themselves with red ocher so that they "won't stink" (have the soul about them).

765 533 When the grave is opened the chorus sings canoe, then paddling, which is a signal for the old woman to come out with the symbolic spear-thrower while imitating a man paddling a canoe. The chorus then sings whale hunter, harpoon, and rope. At this time the other woman sticks the "spear" in the body. The body is a whale. The whale is the totem emblem for the Warumeri. Before a man was on the earth two Wongar men went to the totem well of the Warumeri and kept hitting and hitting and cutting it up. Cutting up the whale is next sung. At this juncture in the singing the two dués start cleaning the bones. Sometimes when the grave is being opened and the bones cleaned some of the chorus of men walk around the ground imitating the actions of a dog and others call out like curlews.

765 535 The mast is removed after the exhumation and burned. Each clan at this period in the garma song cycle dances a different animal or plant. Warumeri dance the whale, the Wangurri a split mangrove wood, the Djirin the turtle, and the Liaalaomir the snake. This is also supposed to help the spirit depart to the other land and to take him out of his own society.

765 When the bones have been placed in the paper bark and wrapped up they are put by one of the men in the fork of a tree a short distance from the camp. It is late evening when he returns from the tree where he has placed the bones. Several men carrying fire stick brands meet him and escort him back to camp. The keeper of the bones of the dead man has bushes tied on each arm or he holds them in his hands and crosses them so that the bushes are on his chest. On the edge of the camp a brush house has been made for him. He enters and stays for the night and sometimes for a short time longer. He is not allowed out. The mother of the dead man gives him food and water and takes care of him. "He is just the same as a son of that old woman."

765 302 Men gather water in melon shells and obtain a supply of red ocher to make ready for his reappearance. They approach the hut and sit on one side of the doorway, the keeper of the bones on the other. The man puts red ocher on himself with the aid of the water. He remains one or two, sometimes three days longer, to let the newness of the red ocher wear off. Sometimes he leaves the house and moves to an-

765 other house with some of his near relatives, and once more covers 302 himself with red ocher. Meanwhile the old house is burned. He then returns and the people paint him as though he were going to be put through the circumcision ceremony. All the other relatives paint themselves with red ocher. This is particularly true of those in the patrilineal line, but the mother and wife also cover themselves. After a 765 symbolical well is made, such as is described on page 419, the man who is in charge of the bones is supposed to give food to all of the above people.

He goes out and kills a supply of game; after it is cooked it is placed in the well, which is symbolic of the dead man's well. All the clansmen of the deceased also put in food. The man who is the keeper of the bones and who has cleaned them takes a stick and cleans out his finger nails into the hole. The finger nails are then cut off into the well. "This is to clean off that rotten flesh from his fingers and put it into the well." At this juncture of the ceremony, if the dead man is Yiritja, [533] white maggots are sung; they are supposed to be flying away. If the man was Dua they sing the ants' larvae. Both songs symbolize change. Only the clansmen and near male relatives of the dead man can eat the food but everyone gathers about this communion.

The Hollow Log Coffin.—The keeper of the bones watches them for two or three months; then the brother of the dead man is supposed to go to him and tell him to bring the bones in. The bones are brought up to the edge of the camp, where red ocher is placed on them before they are ready to enter the main camp. The bones are placed in paper bark out in the sun and allowed to dry so that they will not smell and will have the odor of red ocher when they do arrive in camp. Frequently a small bark cylinder is made out of a stringy-bark tree and the totemic emblems of the dead man are painted upon it. The bark cylinder is really a preliminary coffin and is only smaller in size and lighter in material than the final hollow log receptacle in which the bones are placed at the end of the mortuary ceremony. The man who is carrying the bones at the time they are being painted at the edge of the camp puts red ocher on his arms and legs at the same time.

[533] The singing at this point is split mangrove stick, which is the home for the mangrove fish, if the ceremony is Yiritja; if it is Dua, the singing is salt-water turtle. The men sing cutting up the turtle and throwing the bones away just as if the turtle were a man. They then dance [535] mokoi, woman crying, and cockatoo, which are a part of the Nierk mokoi ceremony. The bones are then placed inside of the bark cylinder

and the two ends are stuffed with grass. Sometimes red parrot feathers 765 are stuck on it if the bones belong to a Dua man, and opossum string if to a Yiritja.

The women are off some distance from the men. The mother and 765 female mari of the dead man dance a little to one side by themselves. 535 The men dance up to the women and offer the bones to them. The women take them and return them to the men. This is repeated several times before the women finally stop dancing and accept the bones. The leader continues beating his singing sticks and still sings the garma songs. The men wail. The women take the bark coffin and 765 place it in the forks of two sticks at the edge of the camp. The mother then takes the bones and carries them wrapped in paper bark for several months. (The custom of carrying the bones about is practiced only in the more central regions of the Murngin tribe and, according to my informants, is not found in the Wessel Island group among the Yaernungo.) Once more food is offered to the former keeper of the bones.

The Nierk or sulphur-crested cockatoo ceremony follows within the main camp. The principal participants in the ceremony paint themselves with white clay. The earth has been piled up into three small basins which lie side by side and represent the totem wells of the dead man and his relatives. Before the ceremony branches have been broken off the trees and placed in the well bottom to represent the leaves brought in by the tide or the spring floods. The wells are always placed under a large tree. The bones of the dead man and some of his personal property are placed within the circumferences of the three wells. During the dancing that follows members of the chorus break up the spears, shells, et cetera, owned by the deceased.

One of the painted dancers climbs a tree and hangs from a limb by 765 his knees. The leader and chorus sit down in front of the totemic wells. 535 They sing the sea-way cycle of songs (see pages 419-421). The cockatoo calls out in imitation of the sulphur-crested bird. He is supposed to be the mokoi spirit of a dead man.

A second dancer on the ground dances back and forth in front of the chorus of men and the leader. He is also painted white and is [302] supposed to be the newly released ghost of the dead man who is still too timid to go out in the jungle and join the other ghosts. He tries to hide in the trees where the cockatoo is, but the bird sees him and screams out, just as the white cockatoos high in the trees do today

765 when, as the natives suppose, they see the ghosts who hide in the
● 535 jungles.

The cockatoo in the tree continues calling out, "Ni-erk! Ni-erk! Ni-erk!" while the men by the well reply with "Gar-ra! Gar-ra! Gar-ra!" They are the old ghosts of the people who are long since dead, and who are living in the bush and in the jungle.

Two dancers gather out in front of the chorus and dance, first the jungle, and then a small pigeon, lapar, which is looked upon as a ghost.

The bones of the dead man have been lying tied up in a paper-bark receptacle within the "totemic well" until the mokoi spirit gets up and dances with them. The cockatoo dancer who has been on the ground follows him about and pretends to be watching him very carefully. About a hundred and fifty feet away the women of the camp have gathered in a broken circle facing toward the totemic well. The leader at this moment leads the men to where the women's group is dancing with the monotonous rhythm which characterizes nearly all of the female dancing. The women, too, are supposed to be ghosts.

765 When the men reach the spot where the women are, the bones of the dead man are given to his female mari. She holds them for a moment and then gives them back to the leader but he once again returns them to her.

The taking of the bones the first time by the women is supposed to mean that they intend keeping both the bones and the spirit of the dead, they are not going to allow them to go away from their group. When the bones are given back it means that the spirit has already gone and they can't keep it. The bones are returned by the dancer to the female mari because they are only bones now and she is to keep them and the various female relatives are to carry them for the proper time.

The women wail when the bones are given to them.

When the mother is tired carrying them, she says to the leader of the clan, "I want these bones of my son to stop in that hollow log. I am not strong enough to carry them. I want them to be in that proper place for them so if I get sick and die they will be there." Sometimes the mother gives the bones to other near female relatives and they carry them and pass them on to others until finally they return to the mother, when she informs the leader they should be placed in the hollow log. From other information gathered, it seems that the leader and male relatives are largely instrumental in setting the time for 765 taking the bones from the women and placing them in the log.

When it is decided that the bones are to be finally removed from the kin group the leader sends several men out into the bush to find a suitable tree. They go about tapping the various eucalyptus trees with their fingers until one has the right sound which indicates that the center of it has been almost completely eaten out by termites. The tree is cut down, the bark scraped off, the inside cleaned out thoroughly. It is then carried back to the edge of the camp and placed in a clump of bushes or behind a windbreak. Sometimes a house is made for it, much as if it were a totemic emblem. Forked sticks are set up in the house and the hollow log placed in them so that it will not be upon the ground. This treatment is exactly the same as that given the ranga trumpet in the Djungguan ceremony. Red ocher is now placed on the hollow log. The garma cycle of songs is sung when it is [533] put in the forked sticks. Yiritja sing a cycle beginning with the cloud and going through to the spider element in the sequence, which takes them from back in the bush with the spring flood to the sea; the Dua sing the land-way cycle.

The log is next carved into the proper shape. The log of each moiety has a different name. The Dua call theirs dai-mer-i, and the Yiritja, char-lum-bu. Eyes are cut into the top of the hollow log which are "all the same as the time when we see in the ocean eyes that belong to that hollow log." The lower section of the hollow log is divided into three parts: the upper third is the area where the sea fish are placed, the middle portion is where salt and fresh water meet and both types of fish are found, and the lower part is the land way where fresh-water fish only are found. In the late afternoon the men dance, 765 first salt water; then salt-water fish; the kingfish; the sea wind coming 535 after the kingfish has jumped in the water; the hollow log that comes from another country; the coconut floating in with the tide from other countries, which means that they are getting near the land where the fresh waters meet; and the tide coming in fast. All the men have on white clay; the women, who are dancing at a little distance, red ocher.

High tide is then danced, followed by low tide. Next in the sequence is people walking along the sea rocks looking for fish. They put their hands underneath the stones to find the fish and try to break the stones off with their feet. The men sit down in a ring with the two leaders sitting at one side, and the women stop their dancing. The 765 ring is the same as the rock pool. They then sing the tide returning 533

765 533 and everyone calls out the high water has covered up the rock. The leader sings he has caught a fish on a line and is carrying it to shore to take home. The tempo increases and the chorus is supposed to wash itself in the rock well water. The next song in the sequence is the talk of gathering fire wood to get the fish ready for eating, followed by the eating of the fish and the sleepy feeling that comes from gorging one- 765 535 self. The last dance is that a big sea takes this totem hollow log, and everyone sings that the water has carried the log away. The leader runs and is followed by the chorus. He calls out the power name of water, then the sacred names of the totem well. The sacred name of the hollow log is cried out, and the log planted in the ground in an upright position. All the women cry and wail for the dead man. Food is given by the women to the leader. It is placed near the hollow log coffin. The leader says, "This food is for the old old ancestors. Only we very old people can eat it. You middle-aged people and young men and boys cannot have any of it," which means that the fully initiated men are the only ones who can eat this totem food (marai-in, sacred, powerful; na-ta, food). The others get ordinary food which has no spiritual significance.

Before the bones are placed in the coffin they are broken up with a stone.[5] When the log rots away the bones are not burned but left to 688 decay. If an *outsider* should burn a hollow log with bones in it he would either be killed or threatened with death.

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[5] A man's or woman's bones are sent back to his clan's territory and preferably near the clan well. "We do this so that when that hollow tree and bones are burned when our people are burning grass when the dry season starts this tree and bones will be burned and they will go into the ground of their own country."

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the men continued to smell this way it would be as though they had swallowed the spirit of the dead man. 775

When the bones are returned to the main camp the sequence of garma 765 sung during the first part of the ceremony, when it is thought the sick 533 man is about to die, beginning with the stringy-bark flowers and ending with the Mirrirmina well, is repeated. This is sung while the bones are taken out of the paper-bark basket and put in another one. Red ocher is put on the bones at this time, which "is the same as putting the spirit back in the well again." When the bones are being wrapped in the paper bark the small fish are once more sung. The bones are then left on the outside of the camp and the men go on to the men's ground and paint themselves. They are supposed to be rock pythons. They then come outside to the 765 main camp and dance the following sequence: 535

(1) Rain, which is the snake's spittle.
(2) Coucal gurundula.
(3) A meteor falling (djam-bu-la).
    This is the sign of a man dying and is looked upon as the departure of his spirit.
(4) Whirlwind (wa-kar), which is also a spirit.
(5) A particular kind of rain which means that the wet season has commenced.
(6) Coucal (again).
(7) Stringy-bark flower and tree.
(8) Honeybee flying.
(9) The stench of the dead man is to be put away in a hollow log coffin.
(10) The phalanger.
(11) They continue by dancing the stringy-bark-flower to Mirrirmina-well sequences of songs.

When the warala warala song is sung, two dancers bring out the marai yirri. This is like the spirit of the yam which ran into the sacred water hole and also like the spirit of the dead man. The two men are painted with patterns which represent the "string harness" of women. They are supposed to be women and also warala waralas. They carry the dead man's bones. The chorus of all the men stands on one side in a group and the two men facing them dance up and down before them. The men dance pretending they are going to take the bones away. The chorus pretends that it is trying to pull them back. They dance from the center of the camp to the edge of the bush while the leader calls out the sacred names of the totemic well. The chorus is supposed to win the contest, and the bones are then given to the mother or wife of the dead man. The women beat their heads and cry, frequently cutting themselves with stone knives.

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VIIa. Chorus and Dancers in the Ulmark Ceremony. (*See Section J, page 321.*)

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VIIb. Grub Dancers in the Ulmark Ceremony. (*See Section J, page 321.*)

X 773 our own women so we can do as we please. We won't have any fooling with our mothers-in-law. No man likes to copulate with an old woman."

They all went back and stayed in their own country.

Bamapama Garma Ceremony from Marunga Island

796 533 831 The significant idea in the following ceremony is that the man belongs to the Dua moiety and the woman is also a member of that division of the tribe. This garma is used for the same occasions as the others. The song sequence starts with (1) salt water, and the significance of singing the water of the ocean is that it is supposed to be carrying the coffin or hollow log into the native camp which has the deeper symbolism that the soul is being taken to the totem well. At the end of each song the name of the big well is called out and the chorus sings out "Yai!" The second song is the sea. Then follow: (3) small porpoise; (4) Marunga well country; (5) Marunga well country; (6) Marunga well country. All the above songs are sung while the men are transporting a large phallic emblem from the men's camp, where this garma totem is made, to the place within the general camp where the dance is held. The phallic emblem is painted with red ocher and colored generally as other totemic emblems are. The carving is done to show that the penis has been circumcised and also subincised.[3] The crowd of men dancers walk along with the phallic emblem. Frequently the hollow log coffin is also carried; sometimes this is designed for the final disposal of the bones of one of their members, or it may be merely a ritualistic observance.

796 535 831 The next dance is (7) porpoise; (8) man making a fish spear, is usually performed as a solo dance with the chorus joining in; (9) the spear is carried by Mar-ler-wer-ang-o, who is the Bamapama or trickster of the Marunga people and is looked upon as a man with a large penis which is symbolical of his lechery. The solo dancer who takes the part of Bamapama dances Bamapana with his spear watching the tide coming in. His spear is the phallic emblem. He is supposed to be extremely happy, and while he dances he calls out "Ha—ha—ha—ha," as he laughs to himself. He holds the phallic emblem up straight against his groin. He pretends to sneak up on a fish, spears and kills it, and breaks its head with his foot. The singer and dancer then take up the story of Bamapama when he sees two women come along the seashore just at sundown. They are supposed to be hunting little sea birds along the jungle edge on Marunga Island.

Marlerwerango or Bamapama sees them. He leaves the fishing and sneaks up on them. A man dances the part of the two women. The phallic emblem of Bamapama is thrust between the legs of the man as he stoops

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[384] [3] The Marunga people, in company with certain of the Goyder River people, practice subincision, although the subincision is not a ritual. The cutting is usually done by two young men who operate on each other.

796 535 831 [522]

over symbolically to gather in the sea birds. While Bamapama does this he laughs uproariously. He then attempts to hide his phallic emblem but the two women see it because it is too large for him to hide. He then changes his tactics, raises it high in the air and shows it to them to frighten them. The group of people who are watching this dance are always extremely amused at this point and frequently some of them literally hold their sides with laughter. The two women leave, but he sneaks up on them and once more ritually has intercourse with them and again laughs and laughs. Even today one can see the holes in the ground which are the vaginas of the two women, and one can also see the stone phallus of Bamapama.

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When Bamapama has finished his relations with the two women he takes a canoe, and at this point the chorus sings (10), canoe. He paddles hard and rapidly. The men's chorus imitates this with the movement of their spear-throwers. He arrives at a Marunga camp on Elcho Island. It is daylight there when he arrives and it has taken him all night to make this journey. He leaves the canoe and camps by the well which is out in the tidal flats. To indicate this (11), the name of the camp, is sung. The camp carries a number of meanings, according to native interpretation: "The Ding Ding people say, 'Mari, you try a song, we want to listen to you.' He sang his garma song. 'This one is mine,' he said. They said, 'No, that is wrong, that is for a ranga [high totem]. We'll show you the proper song.' They sang it then. He said, 'This one is a garma song. You look out for the ranga, I'll look out for the garmas. I'm going to get some food for you.' These people were his kutaras. When he said this, his kutaras sang the chorus of the Narra, and the Marunga man left them that song. 'All right, kutara, you can make rangas. We can start it but we want that Narra to go to you.' The two together sang Narra and called out the names of Marunga people because they were kutara and mari. Marlerwerango and the Ding Ding men sang, and the two Djunkgao women were there."

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House of Marlerwerango or Bamapama (12) is then sung, followed by (13) the picking of banyan tree fruit. The men dance the picking of the fruit that is found in the trees at the Marunga land of Elcho Island. They dance and sing fish net (14), which refers to the catching of the soul of the dead, and (15) a pelican catching fish. This again refers to the soul being caught, the fish being the soul and the pelican the sacred element.

[533]

A small unidentified sea bird (16) ends the garma ceremony of the Marunga people. It must be stated that all the garma songs are capable of considerable variation; but each of them has a general pattern which is adhered to in any one of the dances which are given for the various garma occasions.

796 The ceremony begins when messengers are first sent out to the
various camps to notify other groups, and when the chosen initiates
[203] (young boys who have gone through the *djunggawon* age-grading
[561] ceremony) are taken away from their home camp. But it may be
some time before the more serious parts of the rituals can commence.

796 In the meantime, while awaiting the visitors, the *dua* headmen and
the Kunapipi leader go out from the main camp and make a ceremonial
778 ground or "centre" (that is "Sandy" or "Sunday") place;
this entails the clearing of a ground which the men are in the habit of
[534] using for such a purpose. The Kunapipi leader makes a bullroarer,
its cord attached to a stick by which it will be swung; its painting and
[533] anointing with blood (as described above) are accompanied by singing.

Some time afterwards, the first Kunapipi ceremony takes place in
796 the main camp, "to let the women know that it is beginning". Men
533 sing "outside" Wauwalak and "outside" Kunapipi songs which
summarize preceding events, while the women dance. These are
535 called *gudambiri*, or ordinary secular dances; although they do not
pretend to be really sacred, they are nevertheless most important, for
they put everyone into the mood for the coming rituals. Non-sacred
garma (or clan songs) are also sung and danced. These may continue
for weeks before the main rituals commence: but towards the end,
the men, women, and children sing the "outside" Kunapipi songs
with their rapid rhythm.

Out in the bush on the sacred ground[4] a man swings the bull-
796 roarer. There is a hush; the deep-throated sound of Julunggul is
[534] heard by all in the camp. In answer, the Kunapipi leader calls, followed
by the cries of all the women: "they cry out just like those two
Wauwalak, for Julunggul is sneaking towards the camp, as he did
towards the *murlk*". *Jiritja* men answer, too, symbolizing *jiritja*
snakes.

796 Almost immediately after this, the *jiritja* men take out the young
881 boys to meet the Julunggul (that is, if they have not been sent away
to other camps; if they have gone, this part of the ceremony takes
place when they return, with the visitors who are to participate).
[302] The boys have been smeared with red-ochre and arm blood and,

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[778] [4] The sacred ground is in the shape of a triangle. This is similar to the *djunggawon* dancing ground, and is said to resemble Julunggul's body. One side of the elongated triangle is classified as *dua*, and the opposite side as *jiritja*; but this is only for ritual purposes. At the apex of the triangle a hole is dug, symbolizing Muruwul: this is the *nanggaru*. The "inside" meaning of this triangular dancing place is said to be the Mother's uterus: men go into the uterus for rituals. This conforms to the meaning of the ground in other regions, for example, in western-central Northern Territory. The Kunapipi ground is arranged differently from that of the *djunggawon*, but retains its fundamental shape.

of invocation.] Most of the actors are smeared thickly with wallaby 796 or kangaroo grease, and then with red-ochre. When they become hot 536 from dancing the grease runs and drips off them, symbolizing the [302] sweat of a pair of totemic animals (or human beings) after coitus. The shining grease is termed *laklak*, which is an alternate name for the younger Wauwalak sister.

When the second new moon appears from the beginning of the 796 Kunapipi, depending, of course, on the proposed length of the ceremony, the men again go out to the sacred ground. Warner (*op. cit.* 778 p. 301) mentions that the Muruwul well (or *nanggaru*) is abandoned [805] at this stage; but in the eastern counterparts witnessed and discussed, it is retained. This appears to depend mainly on the inclination of the Kunapipi leaders, who at Yirrkalla usually take their pattern from Rose River. A large crescent-shaped trench is dug, the *ba'uma* (also called *kanala*, or *kanalara*, the central-western Northern Territory term). This is an extremely important symbol in the Kunapipi. It is usually about ten to twelve feet long, four to five feet deep, and about four feet wide, with earth piled along its concave sides. And it may signify any of the following: the track mark of the female Julunggul; the mark left by her fall, after swallowing the Wauwalak; the crescent-shaped position in which the Wauwalak rested in their *murlk*, before the Snake swallowed them; the clitoris of the Wauwalak; and, its real "inside" meaning, the uterus of the Wauwalak (as a substitute for the Djanggawul Fertility Mothers). Another smaller hole is also dug during some ceremonies; this is called the "younger hole", the uterus of the younger sister; whereas the larger *ba'uma*, also called *da:p* (or *dapi*, foreskin, symbolizing a dilly-bag or uterus), is the uterus of the elder sister. But the principal hole is the *ba'uma*, and is always present in the Kunapipi.

When the *ba'uma* is completed, snake totem actors dance or writhe 796 in the hole. Then two actors, one representing a man and another a woman, dance the "mating dance". The man has an erect bark penis 831 and moves in pursuit of the "woman", who is desirous of coitus: 535 they move towards the trench and dance around it, and at its entrance they simulate sexual intercourse. The Mother is said to be present [776] in the *ba'uma*, and her life-giving powers are made operative by the sexual actions of the two dancers. ("The acting of coitus by the totemites is like the uterus being fertilized": the Mother is having sexual intercourse, so that she may produce.)

Various other dances are held in the *ba'uma*, at which the young initiates are present; the majority are related to coitus. There is, for example, the *darl:t* dance. Two men, representing male and female wagtails, sit opposite each other in the trench with legs folded beneath them; their knees touch, and in the dancing they simulate coitus. There is also the *molit'manina* (*molit* being an alternate name for Julunggul) dance, of the male and female Julunggul Rock

796 Pythons. One sits on the thighs of the other in the trench, and they
535 have "coitus". These ceremonies are spread over a number of days,
831 often with a certain amount of repetition.

In the meantime, the *jiritja* men have been making the *jelmalandji*
796 emblems. It is said that "the *jiritja* have got a *dua* job", and they hunt
778 all the *dua* away from the special place near the sacred ground where
the manufacture is in progress. This "giving the job" to the *jiritja* is
[616] termed *ir'wondji* or *maralwa*. They must be paid with food, clothing,
tobacco and indigenous objects, not on the sacred ground but in the
main camp. The *jelmalandji* are twelve to twenty feet in length, and
about two and a half feet wide at the centre. They are formed with a
solid pole, around which pads of grass and paperbark (and in these
days blankets and bagging) are tied with native fibres. The outer
covering of bark is then smeared with arm blood and red-ochre, on
to which is fastened birds' down or wild cotton so that a meandering
pattern is formed, symbolizing Julunggul. At the apex of the "post"
[301] is a bunch of cockatoo feathers "like a man wears in his hair". Both
jelmalandji, one larger than the other, have similar designs. But
although one represents Julunggul, the other is said to be the
"cabbage" or "wild coconut" (*gulwiri*) palm, which was standing
near the Wauwalak's hut, or at the palm-tree swamp from which the
blood was washed down to the sacred well (or billabong). Aborigines
[773] explain, "they made the Snake out of that tree", meaning either that
the first *jelmalandji* was constructed from the palm tree, or that the
Snake itself was derived from it. The latter is probably correct, for
this "wild coconut" palm is said to be the spirit of Julunggul: "their
spirits were standing in the shape of palm trees near Muruwul, when
the Julunggul emerged from the well to swallow the Wauwalak".

While the *jiritja* are making the *jelmalandji*, the *dua* prepare the
796 feather down for body decoration: this has come from the *jiritja*,
237 who are paid for it. It is the *dua* who play the most important part in
301 the ceremonial dancing; and while the final touches are being put to
616 the *jelmalandji*, the *dua* actors decorate themselves, sticking on the
feathers with arm blood. When everything is ready, the two moiety
[783] groups meet each other, and rub sweat over one anothers' eyes;[6]
after this, each group may see what the other has done. The *jiritja*
examine the body designs of the *dua*, and the latter may observe the
jelmalandji.

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[6] That is, the *jiritja* rub sweat from their armpits over the eyes of the *dua*, and *vice versa*. This process is carried out when new *rangga* objects or *marelin* ceremonies are seen for the first time, or when novices or visitors are observing sacred dancing or ceremonial emblems (objects, body or bark paintings, and so on). It means that their eyes may now be opened, they can now see "with sacredness". "The old people have to do this to us before we can see"; for, as one informant explained, "it is like moving over some of the old Law to the youngest (younger generation), and we get trouble if we look straight away". It is called *bunggun'mirljanma*.

On the same evening, the young boys "passing through" the 796
Kunapipi are placed on the heaped-up earth beside the *ba'uma* 881
(*kanala*), and a shallow trench, some fifty feet long, is extended from
one end. The *jelmalandji* have not yet been brought out. Various 535
groups of men, representing mainly opossums, dance down this trench towards the boys. The initiates are moved to the shallow trench, and the men dance along it into the *ba'uma*. Then the boys are moved and placed in the *ba'uma* itself: this is the core of their Kunapipi experience. They are covered with bark and told to go to sleep; and as they lie there, "covered up in the hut like the Wauwalak Sisters", men dance the yam, opossum, wild honey, rat,
wallaby, iguana, native companion and kangaroo – all those animals, [262]
birds, reptiles and vegetables which the Wauwalak attempted to cook. They dance down the shallow trench and almost on to the boys.

Then, suddenly, the bark that covers the boys is removed: they are
dazed, as if from sleep. The older Kunapipi leaders step forward and, [783]
taking sweat from under their armpits, rub the palms of their hands across the eyes of the boys. They tell them to look up: "See, the Julunggul are emerging from the waters!"

"Which way ?" they ask.

As they look they see the two Snakes standing beside the *ba'uma*, each supported by one man: these are the two *jelmalandji*, one the Julunggul and the other the "palm" tree. The boys are "very surprised", asking "What's this ? Where did they come from ?"

"They are the *jelmalandji*", reply the old leaders. And the two *dua* men holding the *jelmalandji* begin to shake them, "making the Snakes dance".

"Ah! ah!" The boys keep staring up at the great towering *jelmalandji*.

Then the men dance a series of totemic dances, similar to those mentioned above, before the *jelmalândji* and the boys.

These are followed by the spectacular "pokiti" head-dress dance, 796
performed by two of the older men. They wear tall, conically shaped 292
head-dresses, built up on top of the head from a basis of grass or
bark pads, bound tightly with human-hair twine so that they taper 535
to a point; this in turn is decorated with arm blood upon which down 881
has been stuck to form the Snake design, and cockatoo or native companion feathers are attached to the apex. The word "pokiti" is pidgin English; the real "outside" secular name (widely known) is *kundja*, and the "inside" sacred name *milali*; when the two old men
dance together they are called *jalwaru-* (or *jalwul*) *milali*. The actors [301]
are decorated with birds' down, and bunches of leaves are attached [237]
to their upper arms.

The "pokiti" itself represents the short pandanus or screw palm, seen by the Wauwalak, growing in the swamp at Muruwul: the movement of the head-dress in the dance signifies the pandanus

796 moving up and down with the swell of the water. The two actors
dance towards the *jelmalandji* and the boys, holding carved wands
292 that represent the pandanus shoots. They move forward slowly,
535 their "pokiti" slightly waving, like the pandanus gently swaying in
the calm swirl of the "spring" waters. When their actions are quick-
881 ened their heads shake violently, and this is the pandanus rustling
and bending in the strong "spring" waters[7] resulting from the rains
sent by Julunggul. The feathers at their apex are the snakes' heads,
appearing between the pandanus clumps.

When they reach the *ba'uma* both actors kneel and are surrounded by the singing and stick-beating leader and other participants. They shake their "pokiti" until these become loose, and the leader knocks them off and rubs himself against the actors (that is, he is spiritually one with the totemic dancers). The young boys, and others who are not fully conversant with Kunapipi ritual, as well as visitors, are rubbed against the "pokiti" or against the decorated down on the actors' bodies; this contact transfers "power" (or the sacred essence of the Dreaming) from one to the other. Then the sacred *bukali* "power" (invocation) names are called over the actors, while they shake themselves, to the accompaniment of the beating sticks. Other dances follow, most of which concern the things seen by the Wauwalak at Muruwul.

Next comes the *djamala marciin*, or ritual fire-throwing. The term
796 *djamala* serves as an important link in all Kunapipi rituals, here and
372 elsewhere, for although it has lost its real significance at Yirrkalla it
still includes the throwing of fire-brands. In central-western North-
881 ern Territory, for example, Kunapipi ritual is divided into morning
(day) and evening (night) ceremonies, the former termed *wilbibi* and
the latter *djamalara* (*djamala* being a variation).[8]

In the Yirrkalla version of the Kunapipi, the throwing of fire-sticks by older men across the sacred ground, and over the *ba'uma* in which the boys sit, symbolizes the lightning sent by Julunggul; the Snake flashes the lightning over the camp in which the Sisters are resting.

Then two actors dance forward, representing the Wauwalak Sis-
796 ters; one has a paperbark pad which is the "child". From one side
881 of the ground another actor appears; he is the Julunggul Snake, and
moves slowly forward towards the "women", until he reaches

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[192] [7] These strong waters are called secularly *ka'lela*, or in sacred speech *gumangguul*: the latter word is a corruption of the term *gumugu*, which is of very general use in the central-western Northern Territory Kunapipi. For a further definition see Chapters X and XI.

[8] For a further example of the widespread use of this word, see R. and C. Berndt, *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land*, Chapter IV, Section X. In that area it has been corrupted to *djama:lak* or *jamalak*, and refers to a secularized promiscuous ceremony. Real *djamalara* singing includes some of the most beautiful sacred rhythms in Aboriginal Australia. [533]

begins with surreptitious meetings at night in the nearby bush. 796 There may be more men than women attending the ceremony, and 835 it may so happen that one woman will have a number of Kunapipi partners to whom she will go. Her husband realizes that this period is charged with social effervescence, so that her indulgence is viewed as a conventional expression, and as an important element in the atmosphere of general goodwill. Some women, however, prefer to wait until the last night, being emotionally excited, then, to an abnormal degree. Prior to this final stage, there is general exchange [832] of obscenities and erotic allusions between men and women, and between the proposed Kunapipi partners.

Two or three nights before the finale the men return to the sacred 796 ground, and sitting around the fires begin to sing parts of the Kuna- ● 535 pipi cycle relating to ceremonial copulation. The women come into 786 the ground, some decorated with feathered string headbands. All [301] women may attend, but only those decorated and ochred are "to dance for coitus". Their special form of dancing is called *ngamamali*; they dance before the singing men. They dance the bandicoot dance, hitting their legs together to make a rhythmic sound that blends with the song and the beating sticks.

Then the head Kunapipi woman, a tribal sister or father's sister of the male leader, dances forward, leading the other women[12] back towards the main camp. As they dance along they call out, in just the same way as the men in the *djunggawon* do when they enter the main camp. And like those men, the women too symbolize Julunggul moving towards the Wauwalak. Instead of calling it Julunggul or *gunduru* as the men do, the women call it Kitjin. "But it is the same Dreaming Snake, even though it is called by a different name: for the women call it Kitjin so that we (the men) won't know the real meaning." They turn away again from the main camp and return to the sacred ground, calling out their sacred term, Kitjin! Kitjin! and warning the men: "Don't call this name, or watch us;[13] don't come [778] close and see us, or your bellies will come up like pregnant women". And the men sit down quietly, with heads bent, for they may not look directly at the dancing women: the women are *mareiin* (sacred), just like the dancers in a totemic ceremony.

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[12] It is said that all these women are "big women", and none are young girls. No young boys are present, for the initiates are at one end of the ground "asleep", or covered up with paperbark or blankets; children are left in charge of the old women or young girls who have remained in the main camp.

This really means that the women attending the Kunapipi are married; the young girls are those who are unmarried, betrothed, or who have not yet [881] reached puberty. We are not discussing in this context ritual defloration of young girls, as an adjunct of the Kunapipi, just prior to or on their attaining [836] puberty.

[13] That is, the men cannot look straight at the dancing women, "we are frightened of the power they have". Actually, however, they do see them dancing forward.

of the ground, but is careful not to look over towards his wife. 796
Both of these variations are known at Yirrkalla, but are recognized 786
as taking place outside their own Kunapipi area. 837

A man or woman will rarely refuse the ritual Kunapipi obligations
of having coitus, or giving and receiving presents. Their frank attitude
towards the question of sexual relations, and their understanding
of the importance of such ritualized copulation, predetermines
their full acceptance. Moreover, there is an obvious content
of enjoyment, for both men and women are stimulated by the precoitus
dancing and interchange of jokes. Should there be refusal, [832]
caused perhaps by the dislike of a certain Kunapipi partner, that
man or woman is soon obliged to conform, for the thwarted partner
will threaten to send Julunggul to the other and so cause sickness. [753]

The initial incestuous relations of the Wauwalak Sisters with
clansmen, as we have seen, are cited in explanation of this ceremonial [773]
copulation.[15] There is also the deeper intent of fertility: the
symbolic spiritual fructification of the Mother. There is a tendency [789]
to regard this sexual exchange of wives as providing an element of
"danger"; for here are men and women copulating with the wives
and husbands of others, virtually under their eyes and with one
another's full (that is, in theory) sanction, and in "older times" with [835]
tabu-ed relatives. All is made possible on the sacred ground, under
the "divine" sanction of the great Ancestral Beings and the Mother.
The inclusion of ceremonial copulation in the Kunapipi is said to
"raise its status to that of *mari* (mother's mother's brother, of the
older generation)", but not to the high position retained by the
ngu:rlmak, or the *dua* and *jiritja nara* Djanggawul and Laintjung
rituals.

* * * *

On the morning following the ritual intercourse, the final group of 796
Kunapipi ceremonies is performed.

Just before dawn, all the *dua* men assemble at one end of the sacred 881
ground, and the *jiritja* men at the other. The women have returned 778
to the main camp, and the young initiates are sitting with their
guardians. All the men are painted with white paint, spraying it over
one another from their mouths; and most have spears. They begin [302]
to clap their spears, one against the other, and dance towards each
other, changing sides. The bullroarers begin to twirl at this juncture,
and the women answer their sound from the main camp. The men's
dancing continues till sunrise, when the two moiety groups dance [535]
down to the boundary between the ceremonial ground and the main
camp, taking the young boys with them. Here, to the accompaniment [616]
of the bullroarers' sound and ritual calling, they erect the

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15. *Vide* L. Warner, *op. cit.* pp. 307–8, who also provides a native interpretation of this aspect.

Illustrations

8 The showing of the Goanna Tail *rangga*, with its parakeet-feathered pendants and decorations, by a ceremonial leader. 80 778 516

9 Postulants dancing the Incoming Tide, coming on to the sacred ground; they imitate the *rangga* folk, who emerged from the Sisters. 81 796 535

10 Invocations are called, while *jiritja* moiety postulants await the emergence of the sacred emblems. 81

11 Left hand panel: a turtle, which has entered a *nguinmara*, after being caught by two men in a canoe; it is surrounded by waves, at Jelangbara. 96 532 773

Second panel, above: Miralaidj, pregnant, showing the long clitoris, on her arrival at Jelangbara. She holds a Goanna Tail and a *mauwulan rangga*.

below: arm-bands with feathered pendants, hanging from a rail of the sacred shade.

Third panel, above: Bildjiwuraroiju, also pregnant; she had been carrying a Goanna Tail *rangga*, but it had slipped from her grasp and fallen to the ground (below, same panel).

Fourth (right-hand) panel, above: the Brother, holding *djuda rangga* which have almost become trees; he is about to plant them.

below: the two *djuda rangga* 'copied' from those the Brother is holding.

12 A ceremonial leader representing the Djanggawul Brother after his landing at Port Bradshaw. He bends forward to taste the fresh water which gushed up after he had inserted the *mauwulan rangga*. 96 796

13 At Gumararanggu, Port Bradshaw (the Yirrkalla side of Jelangbara). Beach and sandhills are shown, with male and female goanna (*rangga*). The central panel shows an Aboriginal camp, comprising people left by the Djanggawul. 97 532

On the right-hand side, the upper panel shows the sun rising, casting its rays.

Below is Belabinja, where the Djanggawul first tasted fresh water when they landed at Jelangbara (*vide* Song 28).

14 The sacred *djanda* goanna on the sandhill at the Place of the Mauwulan (see, e.g., Song 35). 97

manwulan rangga, one in each hand. People (symbolized by dots) have come from the Two Sisters: a small circle of *rangga* folk is seen dancing, among them the Two Wauwalag Sisters. 532 773

Right-hand panel, above: the Djanggawul Brother is inserting his hand into Miralaidj's vagina, and removing *rangga* folk, shown flowing from her. *Rangga* emblems are ranged beside the Brother and Sister. This took place at Dulmulwondeinbi, near Marabai.

Right-hand panel, below: Bildjiwuraroiju, opposite Miralaidj. The Djanggawul Brother has lifted aside their clitorises, and put his hand into their vaginae. People flow out, male *rangga* folk on one side, and females on the other. This took place at Jalwuljalwul.

24 *From left to right:* 208

First panel: Miralaidj as central figure; on each side of her is a woman, one (above) being her elder Sister and one (below) Bammarimarawi, her daughter and 'sister'.

Afterbirth blood flows from Miralaidj into a hole, and she stands holding two poles; as soon as the hole is filled, it overflows and runs from each side. It is after this that the elder Sister, by hitting the young Sister's hips, stops the flow of blood. Four rangga folk then come out (two men and two women).

Central panel of clapping-sticks (above), and two *manwulan* with sacred dilly bags attached (below)—(penis and uterus symbols).

Right-hand panel, top: the sun comes up, casting its rays.

below: sunset on the mainland beyond Milingimbi, towards the west.

At Jelangbara.

25 Postulants (both Goanna actors) using the Goanna Tail *rangga* emblem; one supports it on his shoulder, while the other guides it. 209 778 796

26 *Jiritja* moiety *nara*: *rangga* are removed from the shade, and postulants dance. 209 778 796 535

27 Dancing with the *jiritja* moiety *rangga*: dust rises, as dancing feet pound the sacred ground. 224

114 issues. The concept that woman is profane, in comparison with
794 man the sacred, is not a feature of eastern Arnhem Land religious
or lay thought.

The symbolism in the myth and songs makes clear the intentions
796 of the relevant ritual. In the *dua* moiety *nara*, as an expression
182 of the Djanggawul ideology, the major incidents of the myth are
re-enacted in symbolic form. Much of this ritual is taken up with
● [535] totemic dancing; and the animals, birds, reptiles and vegetable
matter danced are totemic in so far that they relate directly or indirectly to the dominant theme. Further, these totems are not used only in relation to the Djanggawul, but are part of the spiritual heritage of the *dua* moiety linguistic groups and clans, which in turn are associated with the Djanggawul.

796 *Dua nara* rituals are all inspired by the Djanggawul, although
at times irrelevant elements enter; for example, other *dua* spirits
616 or Ancestral Beings of minor importance become associated with
the main theme, or *jiritja* moiety elements appear from time to time in the myth. But the Djanggawul are *dua*, and their ceremonies are solely of the *dua nara*, and not (as Warner mentions)[1] of both *dua* and *jiritja*. The latter are inspired by their own separate ideology, and by the Laintjung and Banaitja Ancestral Beings; and although similar in many points, they are basically different. However, it is the practice for some *jiritja* men (maternally related to the *dua* moiety) to help out *dua* postulants, or vice versa: and it is usual for both moieties to hold their own particular rituals at approximately the same time. At Yirrkalla, separate ceremonial grounds and separate huts are used by each moiety; but in the western Arnhem Land variant of the *nara* rituals the same ground is used, although each moiety has its separate hut (or shade), which may or may not adjoin that of the other. In eastern Arnhem Land, the ritual demarcation between the moieties is particularly noticeable.

796 The *dua*, and for that matter the *jiritja*, *nara* are the most important
religious ceremonies of eastern Arnhem Land. Being far more
794 important that the *kunapipi*, *ngurlmag* and *djunggawon*, they are not
concerned with age-grading in the same sense that other initiation
885 rituals are. They are primarily revelatory in character; and although
novices are received, they are rather neophytes who are already fully initiated into manhood, and already possessed of a certain amount of religious knowledge. By the time a man sees his first *nara* he is well past adolescence, and usually married; he would normally be expected to have already seen the *ngurlmag*; and to be taking a major part in *djunggawon* dancing, as well as in that of the *kunapipi*, although the latter is optional.

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[1] *op. cit.*, p. 340.

the birth). Or again, the fact that the women are covered by the 796
ngainmara refers to the Djanggawul's placing all females, at birth, 831
beneath the *ngainmara* for protection. The men are left out because they were originally placed by the Djanggawul in the coarse grass, and were unprotected: *vide* myth, Chapters 2 and 3. Underlying this ceremony is the idea that the symbolic act of childbirth will be imitated and repeated in real life, so that universal fertility may result.

d. More totemic dances take place on the sacred ground, and 796
continue for some weeks. Various sections of the myth are enacted; 535
for example, there are all the natural species seen at each place through which the Djanggawul passed (see myth). Two or three weeks may be given over to the performance of all the events that happened at one place. During all these ceremonies, the women provide food for the men. Outstanding dances are those of the *djanda* goanna, the *djalga* water goanna, the *lindaridj* parakeet, and spring water, the latter deriving from the *rangga*'s being plunged into the ground by the Djanggawul. At this stage certain *rangga* are used in dancing or posturing. The major, or fundamental *rangga* brought by the Djanggawul from Bralgu, are used by individual dancers, or by groups of actors who writhe along the ground with the *rangga* clasped to their bodies or held in ritual ways. All the dancers emerge from the sacred shade in which the *rangga* are kept, to the accompaniment of singing, or simply to the rhythm of the clapping sticks. Some of the most important emerge in silence; intense reverence is shown in all ritual in which the *rangga* are used.

e. Women gather around a tree or forked stick in the main camp. Men come down from the sacred ground, and the women answer their ritual cries. The ceremonial leader climbs the tree or forked stick and to the accompaniment of clapping sticks invokes the sacred *bugali*. In the western variant of this (that is, the Gunwinggu *maraiin* cult), all women and neophytes are 'steamed' over a special structure, but this does not occur in eastern Arnhem Land. The women, all painted, dance around the tree as the invocations are called. Nearly all the *bugali* are related to places and to totemic species. Pairs of dancers then enact various totemic creatures, dancing near the tree or forked stick and in front of the women. That completes the ceremony. This is continued for a period until finally the men come at night to the main camp bearing flaming torches.

The fire symbolizes that which the Sisters thought had destroyed their sacred bags containing the *rangga*, only to find later that they had been stolen by the men (see Chapter 2). Further, it signifies parakeet feathers, or the warmth of the sun, which is not present during the night.

796 535 The women dancing around the tree or forked stick represent the Djanggawul Sisters, and the tree is the *djuda* tree (of life-giving properties) and also *rangga* (that is, tree = forked-stick = *djuda rangga* = penis). They dance around, inserting their sacred *ganinjari rangga* yam sticks into the ground, so that water may gush forth (that is, symbolic coitus). The dancing of totemic species before the women at the tree or forked stick is like the dancing by the Djanggawul women in their own sacred shade, within the hearing of the men, but without their participation (*vide* myth). Later the men reverse this situation, and it is the men who dance in their own shade, while the Two Sisters go some distance away.

f. At this juncture there is a repetition of the *ngainmara* ritual, when all the women, children and youths are hidden under the mats. The men dance around them, carrying out the same actions as in section *e*, and the ritual has the same significance.

g. More totemic dances are carried out on the sacred ground, particularly in conjunction with *rangga* objects. Young neophytes see only the secondary *rangga* and totem dances; for all these are graded, and it depends on a man's age, his influence, and his degree of acceptance into the cult, whether he sees the really 'high' or most revered *rangga*. The 'high' *rangga* (particularly the elaborately decorated *djuda*, *djanda*, *ganinjari* and *mauwulan*) are lovingly handled, caressed and sung over by ceremonial leaders. Minor *rangga* and dancing viewed by neophytes bring to them simultaneously a series of associated tabus, relating to eating meat or flesh of the totems which they view, and obliges them to present gifts later on to the leaders. Neophytes, when watching these dances, are usually painted [302] with sacred clan patterns. 'They are painted like dead men, for their spirit must enter the eternal stream in which the Djanggawul are an ever-present influence'—an eternal stream, moreover, that has no limitations of time or space, all being merged into one: the Creative Beings themselves, the *wongar* Dreaming Spirits and totems, the ancestors, the recently dead and the living.

796 *h*. The next ritual, a group effort, should normally complete the *nara* rituals. This is the ceremonial bathing by men, women and children. In western Arnhem Land, in the *mareiin* rituals (counterpart of the *nara*) it is the terminating rite, but sometimes is omitted altogether. At Milingimbi it may be a terminating rite, or others may follow it. At Yirrkalla it may be omitted altogether, or used as a terminating rite, or it may be followed by further ceremonies. This ceremonial bathing may take place in a billabong, water-hole, river, or in the adjacent sea; that is, it does not seem to be important whether fresh or salt water is used.

796 535 Men, representing geese or diving ducks, dance down to the

bank of the billabong or beach; then, followed by all the other 796
members of the camp, they plunge into the water. Each person 535
washes himself (or herself), and invocations are called. They all
emerge, and the men dance various totemic fish.

This ritual act symbolically represents firstly the *rangga* (= people) 796
who become wet while being brought in the Djanggawul's bark
canoe from Bralgu. Secondly they, the people, are likened to *rangga*,
being plunged into the water (that is, when *rangga* are not in use,
or at the conclusion of the rituals, they are hidden in the water or
mud, and the people's bathing represents completion of the *nara*).
It has also been interpreted to mean that the Djanggawul enter 796
the water to collect fish in their net: *vide* myth, when the Two
Sisters enter the water and, opening their legs, bend forward to 831
use them as a fish-catchment. To catch fish in this way, using one's
legs as a net, is, moreover, symbolic of coitus: the fish caught are
penes (penis of the Djanggawul Brother).[1] Thus, men perform
the fish dances after emerging from the water. It also represents
the *rangga*'s being inserted into sacred waterholes and billabongs,
as was the habit of the Djanggawul; 'they put these *rangga* into wells
and so on, leaving them for the new generation.'

Warner[2] mentions that the ritual bathing represents the removal 796
of 'semen'; that is, through the 'incestuous rape of the younger
Sister'. This latter conception is not found in any of our versions. 831
Nevertheless, water may signify semen, and thus be a symbol of 114
fertility, just as is the 'foam' of the sea mentioned in the Song
Series. The assumption that the women cleanse themselves by
washing[3] does not follow from our versions; for all people bathe,
not only the women. The lay interpretation of any ritual bathing or
washing, whether involving complete immersion or just 'baptism'
by anointing with water (also fairly common), is cleansing or
purification, in the sense that the sacred aura (which is ritually
contagious, and can do harm if not controlled immediately after a
ritual), is, for the time being at least, diverted back into the 'eternal
stream' (see above). All sacred clan patterns painted on men's bodies,
and the complementary sacred patterns on the breasts of women,
are removed in this way, thus signifying that the *nara* is nearing
completion.

i. Again the 'higher' totem dances and *rangga* emblems are shown 796
to various neophytes in different stages of initiation. All these
ceremonies are revelatory in character. These rituals then are
divided into two main parts—1, those rituals shown to the younger

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[1] Also used in everyday speech to refer to coitus—thus a woman 'nets a fish'.

[2] W. L. Warner, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

[3] W. L. Warner, *op. cit.*, pp. 353–4.

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9. Postulants dancing the Incoming Tide, entering the sacred ground.

10. Calling of invocations before the emergence of sacred emblems.

[facing p.81]

Comments on Part One of the Songs

This subject is treated in some considerable detail in the secular 539
Bralgu Song Cycle, associated with the Morning Star ceremony (used during mortuary rituals, for Bralgu is the *dua* moiety home of the dead), when a long pole with string and feathered balls is used, and dancing imitates that of the Bralgu Spirits.

The paddling of the Djanggawul in their canoe, and the roar 539
of the sea, are re-enacted in the *dua nara* (see Chapter 1). A spear- 796
thrower is dragged along the ground symbolizing the paddling.
The dancers cry *ei ei a:!* which is the sound of the sea, *a:!* being 535
the dull roar as the waves break. Then they lift up their legs, representing the rising waves which carry the canoe to their crests (line 24, Song 1) and then collapse downwards.

Lines 31–2, Song 1, refer to the *ngainmara* and to the *rangga,* 539
which are carried in the bottom of the canoe (*vide* Song 26, in reference to their being sodden). The *rangga* are stored within the mat (= uterus, with children within), and include the *mauwulan,* the yam stick, *djuda* and *djandu* poles. As the canoe rolls, they move about in the mat and rattle (line 32).

In Song 2 (lines 5, 6 and 7) the green-backed turtle is said to 825
possess a dilly bag: this may be seen from the mark of this bag on the turtle's under shell (its 'chest'); it holds its bag under one flipper, as a man holds his dilly bag when walking or dancing. The cuttlefish is also said to represent the bag of this turtle.

Many references are made throughout the songs, in this section of the cycle, to the Baijini folk (for example, Song 4, line 3)—that is, 'Paddling fast as we smell the Baijini from far away.' Several words used in the text are said to be directly associated with these alien people of the *jiritja* moiety: for example, *buragoimin*, 'sea smell' (line 3), which is also said to mean the smell of the smoke from the Baijini fires, at their settlement at Port Bradshaw. The Djanggawul see the smoke rising in the distance, and know that they must be drawing close to the mainland. The Two Sisters talk with their Brother. 'What do we see? What blocks (or obstructs) our passage? There are strangers in that place! They are blocking us, so we shall sing about them. But as soon as we reach Jelangbara (Port Bradshaw) we will move the Baijini: they can't stop, where we intend to have our sacred camp.' As they draw closer, they hear this word, *buragoimin*, drifting over to them, and for that reason it is included in the song.

Nevertheless, as mentioned in Chapter 3, there is a certain amount of rationalization here. The Djanggawul are frequently said to have been the first 'human' beings to land on the mainland; and yet this contradiction appears in the actual traditional texts, which infer that the *jiritja* Baijini have already settled at Port

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25. Postulants with Goanna Tail *rangga*.

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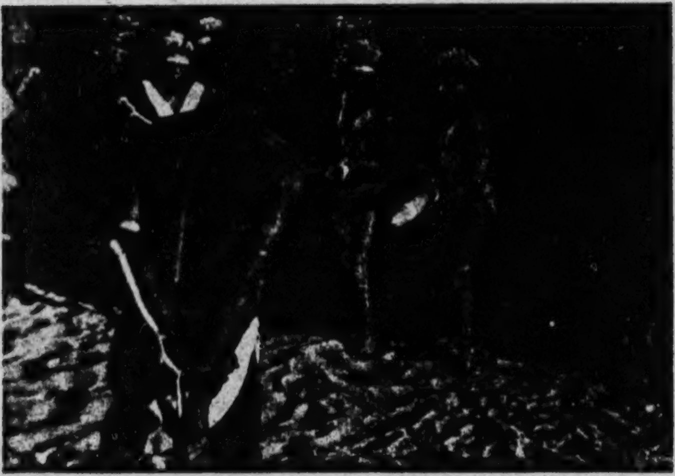

26. Removal of *rangga* from the *jiritja* moiety shade.

[p. 92(H)]

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27. Dancing with the *jiritja* moiety *rangga.*

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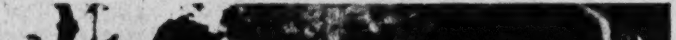

28. Neophytes await the showing of the Djanggawul emblems.

[p. 92(I)]

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
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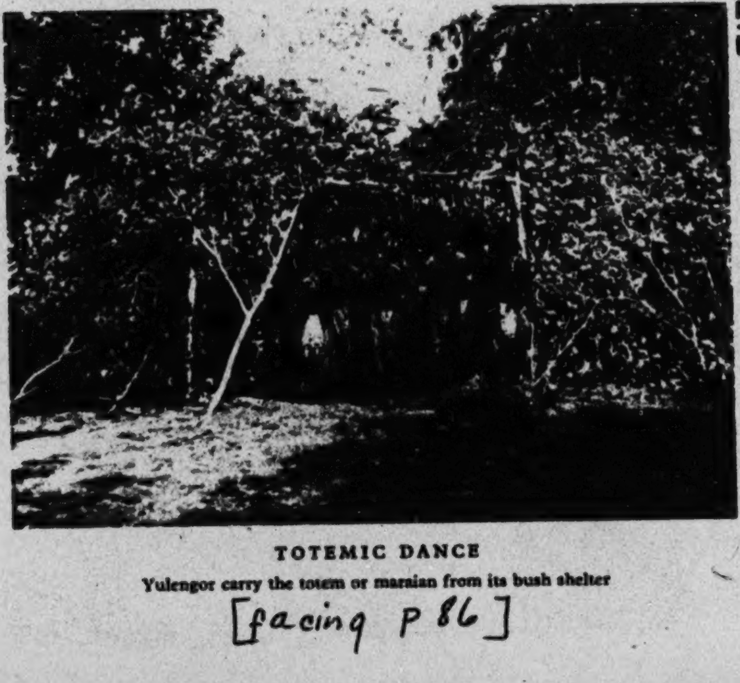
AN AVERAGE FAMILY

Yulengor at their evening meal



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TOTEMIC DANCE

Yulengor carry the totem or maraian from its bush shelter

[facing p 86]

764 Next day the grandfather painted totemic symbols on the body, and women relatives wailed and gashed their heads. About a mile from the camp the child's tribal 'grandsons' constructed the exposure-platform for the body, a very simple structure consisting of forked sticks to support the platform five feet high. Beneath it they scooped a depression so that anything falling from the dissolution might be easily buried.

In the late afternoon everyone gathered about this [535] platform. Relatives danced and the women wailed and performed their characteristic body-swaying and rhythmical shuffling from one foot to the other. A tribal 'grandson' climbed to the platform to arrange the body and covered it with leaves, twigs and bark so that birds could not disturb it. As this was nearing completion, the grandfather burst into a wailing dirge, calling on the spirits of his father and brother to come and take the child to the spirit-land. The child's father and uncles also danced toward the platform, urging the young spirit to depart for Buralkor.

765 At the end of four days we went back in the early morning for the bones of the child. Men sat in one group, and women in another, near the body, on the crest of a sand dune overlooking a wide billowing jungle which fell away toward the leaden, hazy sea from which the sun was rising. To the accompaniment of a desultory singing-wail, the platform was lowered and the tribal 'grandsons' collected the bones. A breeze blowing in from the sea left no doubt about the state of the body, and a concerted move was made to scratch together fallen eucalypt leaves, which the women lit with firesticks. The resulting pungent aroma of burning gum leaves was very welcome. Actual dismemberment was realistic enough; bones and joints were raised and beaten with sticks until separated into lengths suitable for wrapping in bark bundles. Refuse, twigs, and bark were dropped into the depression under the platform, and the heavy forked

sticks were pulled out and thrown on the heap to deter 765
inquisitive dingoes.

Meantime the grandfather sang songs appropriate to the 765
departing spirit, the most important being the plover song. 533
A plover is a spirit from Buralkor disguised with feathers so 825
that mortals may see it, and its purpose is to guide human [775]
spirits on their way to the spirit world. Native-companions, geese, jungle fowls, and cockatoos are similarly revered by the Yiritja moiety, except that they have no qualms about eating them. Moreover, these are genuine birds and not visible spirits like the plover. Their importance lies in their supernatural ability to see spirits and to assist them.

As the grandfather sang the bird-songs, his sons accom- 765
panied him with clap-sticks and women danced and 535
made the bird-signs. For the plover they held their hands 201
in front of their shoulders with the fingers half clenched 825
like talons; this gesture is also used ordinarily in their sign-language to indicate death, a corpse, or wandering ghost. Geese were introduced by imitating their cries and by holding short sticks between the hands for bird-perches. Long-winged native-companions could not be mistaken when the dancers extended their arms and flapped them.
At the end of the ceremony a tribal-mother carried the bones 765
to her camp and deposited them in the fork of a tree; in bush-camps such parcels can be seen in trees or in forked sticks. Skulls are of more importance and are painted and hoarded for as long as ten years.

It is usual to expose infants and to bury older children and [766]
adults, though no particular significance is attached to either method and both are preliminaries to the collecting of the skeleton. A corpse is buried in a shallow grave face down-
wards to facilitate the removal of the bones by lifting the [764]
backbone to which the greater part of the skeleton is attached. Bones may be collected in four or five days, a week or several months after burial, depending on the regard the

*773 'There must be something in that water.'

'Yes. This might be a Wangarr (Great Spirit) place. I think a big Wangarr snake lives in there and ate all our food.'

The sun had set, it was too late to look for a new camp, and, in any case, the younger Woman was too weak to travel. Tired and hungry, they sat at the door of their hut, watching a strange white cloud in the west. It was about the size of a man's hand, but as it climbed overhead it increased in size till it was as big as a turtle. It then turned black, spread over the sky and came down near the lagoon, whereupon torrents of rain fell into the water and on the Women's camp; strangely enough, the ground a few chains away remained dry.

The stage was now set.

Thunder roared and lightning crackled and hissed along the ground, till the young Woman roused out of her coma and asked: 'Sister, what is the matter?' And, as her child was born at that moment, she prophesied: 'This is no ordinary storm. Wangarr is sending it out of the lagoon to drown us.'

'Yes, that is true. We had better leave the child and dance outside to stop the rain.'

In the darkness they circled round the hut, dancing and
singing, in a desperate attempt to divert the attention of
Wangarr, but the rain fell with even greater violence. They
had but one other scheme, the singing of the third great
[796] native ceremony known as the Junggowan. And to the
[535] Sisters dancing in the rain goes the honour of first per-
forming the songs, dances, and myths in the present-day
[628] Junggowan which, like the Ngara and Gunabibee, is an
[796] inter-tribal link; the myths it enshrines are sung and danced
when hordes meet for intercourse. Their efforts had no
effect on the rain, but the totemic powers released through
their sacred pantomime disturbed the serpent Kaitjalan.